

*The American*  
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# The Progress of the World

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*Peace as a  
Positive  
Factor*

Things that are the best worth while in the lives of individuals and in the affairs of nations usually require definite planning and persistent effort for their accomplishment. This is true of those relationships that may be summed up in the word Peace, whether on the narrow, private plane or on that of international dealings. Peace, in the true sense of the word, is something more than the absence of feuds and quarrels in private life, or abstention from actual armed strife between nations. It is a positive rather than a negative quantity. It denotes the presence of cordial good-will and of mutually beneficial friendships. There were those in former times who thought of peace as a stagnant condition, denoting lack of energy, feebleness of purpose, flabbiness of physical and moral fiber, or dull submissiveness akin to cowardice. Whatever might have been the case "when knighthood was in flower," it is true in this twentieth century that there is no element of chivalry left in warfare. Far from quickening the energies of mankind, or contributing to social progress, war is the great disease of diseases—an infection that aims at the ruin of all that is good, the survival of degeneracy, the swift descent to barbarism. Our modern life gives ample stimulus in the thrilling adventures of peaceful, coöperative progress. Colonel Lindbergh's good-will flight to Mexico, December 13-14, finely emphasizes this view.

*Dangers of  
the Present  
Situation*

On the threshold of a new year, therefore, those men and women who are to-day capable of exercising sane and righteous judgment will do well if they resolve earnestly, as private persons and as citizens of self-governing nations, that peace and harmony shall be better assured at the end of 1928 than has seemed to be the case in the last weeks of the year 1927. This must mean improvement in a variety of ways. Institutions by means of which law and justice may be substituted for force ought to be encouraged and strengthened. The instrumentalities of warfare ought to be reduced, partly by agreements between and among nations, and partly by the faith and courage of governments acting alone. But, while these things are being considered, there should be no neglect of the old maxim that the chief danger to peace lurks in unsettled questions. We have witnessed a tendency during the past year toward a European criss-crossing of new alliances and more or less secret agreements. It is eagerly explained in every case that the agreement is intended to promote peace and confidence rather than to build up combinations for war. But there has seemed to be some danger lest Europe should drift back to a reliance upon rival groupings, and to that kind of precarious peace maintained by balanced armaments, neither major group feeling itself clearly strong enough to risk war.

*Growth  
of Public  
Interest*

On the other side, we have seen many evidences of a desire on the part of Germany, France, and England to maintain peace. The fact that Geneva has become a great news center has more encouraging significance than is commonly understood. The nations, great and small, are managing to speak out at Geneva, with the result that there is a steady growth of international public opinion. It is no longer easy for ruling groups to carry on the foreign relationships of their respective countries by mysterious methods and with concealed diplomacy. In every country the newspapers, the business men, the churches and the general public are talking about foreign relations with a new appreciation of the fact that these questions also belong to modern democracies. It is perhaps in this respect that the greatest change has come about since that period of incredibly stupid diplomacy that culminated in the summer of 1914 in the World War. For a while we were in the habit of fixing all the blame upon Germany; but now it is fully realized that there was discredit enough to distribute all over Europe, with plenty to spare. Perhaps the best hope for peace, then, is to be found in the fact that nations will not henceforth be acquiescent in the face of diplomatic methods so futile, so disgraceful, and so utterly contemptible.

*Geneva as a  
Focus of  
World News*

Those institutions that have been formed, such as the League of Nations, the World Court, and the formal Conferences on particular subjects that follow one another in an almost continuous series, have not indeed accomplished nearly as much as it was reasonable to expect. But we are justified in repeating that, along with their achievements or non-achievements, there has been formed in the minds of millions of people the habit of thinking about international matters. At the present time the best service performed by the League of Nations is in bringing together at Geneva the spokesmen of many small countries as well as those of the few large ones. The reflex influence upon the people of the smaller countries is a factor of greater consequence than most people have yet realized. When admitted to an equal place in good society, people naturally wish to hold the esteem of their associates or colleagues. The very fact of sending able and influential

men to Geneva has a wholesome educational influence upon the people at home. It tends to make all governments more scrupulous in their external dealing, while it also encourages order and stability in their domestic concerns. Geneva is like a great broadcasting station which first insists upon knowing everything that is going on, and then reports it loudly to everybody in all the world.

*Simonds  
on Europe's  
Troubles*

We are publishing in this number an analysis of the complicated European situation from the pen of Mr. Frank H. Simonds, who has been spending a number of months in various European countries, including a considerable stay at Geneva, and whose present article is sent from London. The dangers that menace the peace of Europe are set forth as clearly and dispassionately in this article as is humanly possible. No American reader who would like to be informed as to the prospects of continued European peace, and as to the nature of the difficulties and dangers that exist, should fail to read what Mr. Simonds has written. Those who are capable of grasping the seriousness of the situation that our correspondent describes might do well to note contrasts between the present state of European intelligence and that of a year or two immediately preceding the Great War. (1) Europe no longer has to take into account the intriguing dynasties of Hohenzollerns, Romanoffs, and Hapsburgs. (2) No longer is Europe content to be victimized by the astute schemers and blundering asses of the so-called "chancelleries," who used to play at the game of secret diplomacy. (3) Europe is delivered from the silly but dangerous myth that diplomacy is a high function not to be understood and not to be questioned by ordinary citizens. (4) In short, while Europe in 1928 will have danger spots of a most serious kind, there is no one of intelligence in any country from whom can be withheld the essential knowledge of facts and conditions. Everybody is forewarned.

*Failure  
of  
Leadership*

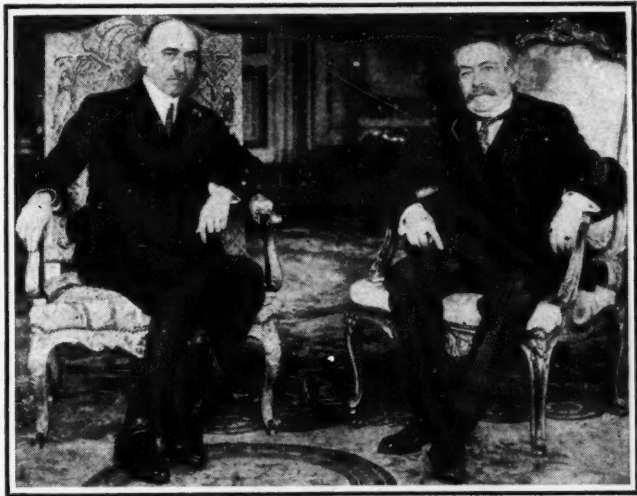
As Mr. Simonds shows us, at least a hundred million people in Europe are determined to keep what they have gained by the territorial rearrangements of the Versailles Peace, while another hundred millions remain unreconciled to their losses. Never-



theless, both groups are aware that they would lose more by a war than they could possibly hope to gain. The worst danger to Europe is not from the aggressive mood, but from the mood of fear and funk. Everybody is arming for defense, and nobody is showing the moral courage to trust his neighbors. Although best situated for the giving of help and reassurance, the British are failing to rise to their opportunity. The mental attitude of the Tory Government oscillates between its fear of losing something—whether bread-and-meat or naval prestige—and its instinct to make the most of what seems to be a rare opportunity for supremacy and domination. It was this British lack of clear insight and of bold foresight, together with an unfortunate absence of anything like idealistic motive and spirit in the negotiations, that caused the failure of the naval conference at Geneva. This British reluctance to take the hopeful and helpful leadership has also been hampering the work of the preparatory disarmament conference.

#### *British Opportunity*

The positions of France and Germany are much more difficult than that of England. The definite assumption of leadership and responsibility by our British friends for the shaping of European peace would do more than any other one thing to bring light out of darkness. Great Britain cannot well succeed in the hide-and-seek game of being at one time inside the European family and at another time outside of it. Great Britain is actually a part of Europe, and has the unrivaled opportunity of being Europe's moral leader. Joining hands with France and Germany—and with the full support of smaller nations like Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, the Scandinavian countries, Portugal and Spain—England could insist upon a complete settlement between Poland and Lithuania, making use of the machinery of the League of Nations. As for the so-called Italian menace, it is prob-



#### **SIGNING THE TREATY THAT BINDS JUGOSLAVIA TO FRANCE**

Perhaps the most significant diplomatic event of 1927 was the signing of the treaty at Paris on November 11 by Foreign Minister Marinkovitch (left) of Yugoslavia and Foreign Minister Briand (right) of France. The French system of alliances now includes Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Rumania, and Yugoslavia. M. Briand contends that this scheme is all for peace and harmony.

ably far less warlike than is supposed by Italy's critics and opponents. The better way to meet the Italian situation would be found through a cordial and considerable study of the economic difficulties that Italy is trying to solve. With an eager and virile population that is growing rapidly, the Italians lack sufficient land and natural resources. There are vast areas, relatively uninhabited, that are held under the political sovereignty of Great Britain, France, Turkey and other countries. Would it not be reasonable to consider carefully and without prejudice the question whether some adequate opportunity might be afforded for the peaceful expansion of Italy's energies, without real harm to any other country?

#### *Generous Settlements Needed*

The selfishness of imperial rivalry among these great European powers has made some bad history in the past; and unless it is now to be tempered by an enlightened study of changing conditions it may make even worse history for the future. Since it is quite impossible to keep down the Italian and German peoples, it would be far better for everybody concerned to do whatever is possible to remove causes of resentment and to diminish the sense of rivalry. Cooperation, with positive programs, would go far to banish those dangers that lie in negative policies and in a dog-in-the-manger



MARSHAL JOSEF PILSUDSKI (at right) RECEIVING THE HIGHEST FRENCH DECORATION

Poland is the most powerful as well as the most intimate of France's new allies. At Warsaw, recently, the Polish Dictator was made a Chevalier of the Order of the Medaille Militaire, Marshal Foch, Marshal Petain, and King Albert being the only other recipients.

attempt to keep for one's self what someone else greatly needs and could use more advantageously. The averting of war in Europe is not to be brought about by an appeal to mere mechanisms like the League of Nations. As Mr. Simonds so well shows, the tendency of the League is to fall into groups corresponding to the alliances that checkmate one another so dangerously. The Locarno agreement was good in as far as it went, not chiefly because it was signed, sealed, and delivered, but rather because it disclosed a new spirit of coöperation and a determination to accept certain issues as finally settled. Peace is worth a high price; and it asks for no sacrifice of principle or honor, but only for neighborly concessions.

#### *How to Disarm*

Russia at a recent meeting at Geneva, in connection with the work of the conference that is dealing in a preliminary way with the problems of European disarmament, made the sensational proposal that there should at once be complete disbanding of all

armies, with the removal of all fortifications, and the establishment of conditions in Europe similar to those existing on our Great Lakes and along our 3,000 miles of boundary line between the United States and the Dominion of Canada. This proposal was not received with the contempt and the disdain that it would have met in any European conference fifteen or twenty years ago. But it was not a convincing proposal, because it was like suggesting a complete abolition of the police force of a city in the thick of a crime wave, with dangerous strikes and riots going on. The lack of a fortified frontier line and of warships on our Great Lakes is not what produces the profound harmony that exists between Canada and the United States. First come the confidence and respect of neighbors wishing each other well, and the sincere acceptance of the principle of arbitration for the settlement of any persistent controversy. Europe can disarm gradually, and even rapidly, when there is a clear growth of good-will and mutual confidence, and when certain acute problems have been triumphantly adjusted by mutual agreement. In this Russia could help vitally.

#### *Poland Meets Lithuania*

The simple truth, obvious to every delegate at Geneva, pointed at Russia not as leader in the cause of peace but as chief obstacle to particular settlements and reduction of armies. The most acute danger lay in the quarrel between Poland and Lithuania. This would have been settled long ago but for Russia's attitude in the encouragement of Lithuania's stubborn maintenance of the technical status of war against Poland. There was actual war in 1920, which ended in November of that year; but Poland has continued to occupy Vilna with the approval of the principal European Powers, Russia excepted. There have been other differences besides the ownership of Vilna. Soviet Russia a few weeks ago was officially menacing Poland on Lithuania's behalf. The Foreign Minister of Holland had been asked by the League of Nations to make a report on the long-standing trouble, and on December 10 he was presenting his elaborate findings to the Council of the League at Geneva. Marshal Pilsudski, Dictator of Poland, appeared on the scene with the brusque manners of a Cromwell. The scholarly Professor who is Prime Minister of Lithuania, Mr. Waldemar, was present,

as were other high officials of both governments. With dramatic details not necessary to recount, the heads of the two quarreling nations pronounced the word "Peace," and accepted the good offices of the League of Nations for the adjustment of the somewhat intricate details of their standing dispute. It was the moral influence of a growing European public opinion rather than any particular adjustments that resulted in this decision that the idea of war should be abandoned and that long-suspended intercourse should be resumed. This is not the end of disputes on that particular Polish frontier, but it is the beginning of the acceptance of a proper way to adjust differences. For the League of Nations it saves the record of 1927.

*Adjusting  
Actual  
Disputes*

Russia might have won favor by helping rather than hindering a settlement of these differences between Poland and Lithuania that have concerned many nations. Russia might also definitely confirm Rumania in the holding of Bessarabia, as settled by the Versailles Treaty. The best path to peace lies through the determination of the peoples of Europe to go to the roots of one dispute after another, and then to guarantee the finality of solutions as agreed upon. Being virtually without an army and without a navy, Germany is saved a great deal of expense and is the better able, therefore, to make reparation payments under the Dawes Plan. But it is plain to everybody that Germany cannot be expected permanently to acquiesce in conditions that give her less right than that which her neighbors exercise to decide for herself what defensive instruments her safety requires. It is evidently to the interest of Germany to do everything in her power to avoid a return to costly armaments. The best way to avoid it is to persuade her neighbors to join her in bringing about a stable and peaceable condition of Europe, so that relative disarmament may be general on the part of the larger powers, and may—if necessary—be forced upon the smaller ones.

*America's  
Naval  
Responsibility*

The position of the United States, as compared with that of Europe, would seem to be altogether enviable. But our comparative security gives no just excuse for self-complacency, much less for arrogance. We cannot compel or persuade the Europeans

to settle their own quarrels. But in various ways we can help to improve the international atmosphere. By minding our own business with wisdom and good judgment, we shall not only keep out of mischief but we may also set a very good example. For one thing, we shall contribute nothing at all to the cause of world peace and to ultimate reduction of military forces by curtailing our own means of defense. We are so placed that it is our duty, more than that of any other nation, to maintain the free use of the seas for all nations regardless of their naval strength or weakness. The sooner the British come to our point of view, the better it will be for everybody. The British argue that they must have the greatest of all navies in order to maintain their own empire, their own trade, and their own ample security in using the common seas for their own purposes. The American point of view is much broader than that. Our interests also are widely scattered, and the volume of commerce that we have to protect is larger than that of Great Britain. But we realize that our own proper use of the sea will be duly protected if everyone else is at the same time made secure in using the world's highways of maritime intercourse.

*Naval  
Equality*

England's best security (and America's also) lies in an acceptance of joint responsibility for the protection of everybody's trade at sea and in the ending of all naval aggression. Naval equality between England and the United States, from the American standpoint, means nothing at base but an assumption for the time being of a maritime control and patrol that will be exercised in deference to universal right under international law. The logic of such a situation obviously leads toward the ultimate neutralization of the seas, with international tribunals for the settlement of disputes, and with a policing of the oceans toward the cost of which all maritime peoples will contribute in due proportion. Meanwhile, the chief argument for a naval agreement between England and the United States, such as was desired at the recent Geneva Conference, is to be found in the high motives underlying such an agreement, and in the reassurance it would give to the world at large. The questions of high statesmanship were set aside by the British, who saw nothing but naval details.



OUR AMIABLE WAR LORDS, SECRETARY DWIGHT F. DAVIS AND SECRETARY CURTIS D. WILBUR

The annual reports show a great variety of useful activities under direction of the heads of the War Department and the Navy Department. Never before in peace-time have these services been so well organized and they are arranging for rapid expansion in time of need. Both Secretaries are zealous for the progress of aviation.

*Value of the Example* If England and America, having accepted in the Washington Conference the principle of naval equality, are not broad-minded enough to find a way to give that principle its effect in practice, how shall we expect other nations to acquire confidence in each other and to coöperate for mutual benefit? It is nonsense to say that either England or America needs the larger navy; and it is not true that either of them would need any such maritime armament as current budgets now provide for, if it were not for the unsettled condition of the world at large. As a matter of fact, no country fears the navy of the United States, because America has no motive for the use of force in any direction. The United States can best afford to champion neutral rights henceforth; and Great Britain's true policy would be to accept the American view and join heartily in a program for the maintenance of peace. President Coolidge had hoped that a successful naval conference would enable us to modify our cruiser program; but he is now convinced that we should adopt the proposed five-year building plan to execute which will cost in the aggregate a round billion dollars. When this is done we shall still be under the line of equality with the British Navy, and we shall, as regards cruisers and some other

classes, be under the ratio of 5-3 to the Japanese Navy.

*Our Navy and Its Past Record*

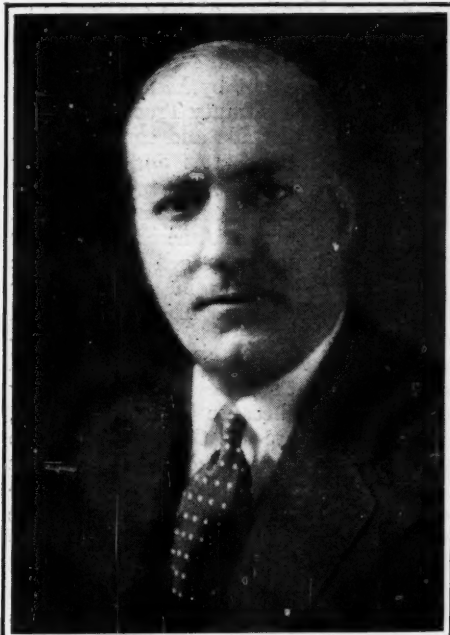
Taking the historic view, the American navy has not only protected the rights of the United States but it has also been an important factor in the safeguarding of the political freedom of the western hemisphere. Cuba on January 16 is welcoming the distinguished delegates who will assemble at Havana as members of the Pan-American Conference. Cuba, moreover, has taken a brilliant part at Geneva in the work of the League of Nations, and it is one of the progressive and prosperous nations that are making twentieth-century history. Yet Cuba looks upon the United States Navy as a sort of fairy godmother. It was the naval victory over the Spanish fleet that completed the work of Cuba's own army of liberation. It was the necessity of quick communication, for the protection alike of all the American republics, that hastened the construction of the Panama Canal. It was the record of American naval prowess that gave significance to the Monroe Doctrine a hundred years ago. On more than one occasion it was the fact of an American navy in the background that prevented the seizure by Europe of Latin-American territory. The people of the





DR. ORESTES FERRARA, CUBAN AMBASSADOR

Dr. Ferrara has completed a year at Washington. At the beginning of the struggle for Cuban independence under General Gomez he made a great record and was a Colonel at the end of the war. As a scholar and a man who has held various high offices, Dr. Ferrara is in the forefront of the public men of our time.



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HON. NOBLE B. JUDAH, AMBASSADOR TO CUBA

Mr. Judah, entering the World War as a First Lieutenant, came out as a Colonel. As a citizen, an official, and a leader in education and charity, his reputation has extended far beyond his city and State. He has been a prominent Chicago lawyer, but now takes up his duties at Havana in time for the Conference.

United States will not consent to put themselves in a position of naval feebleness.

*Cuba's  
Position and  
Progress*

Our delegation from the United States will carry to the Havana Conference a spirit of good will and coöperation. The progress of Cuba will be a matter of interest to all the western world assembled in conclave; and the advantages of peace, industry, and commerce will be shown in excellent object lessons. Cuba has become a great market for the industrial products of the United States, while in turn this country has supplied a profitable outlet for Cuba's immense sugar crop, as well as for other products. Certain American guarantees as to fiscal solvency and civil order, far from interfering with Cuba's real freedom, are of great practical advantage. This assurance of stability has justified enormous investment of American capital in Cuban sugar production and other enterprises, on terms equally advantageous to both countries. This mutuality of interest secures

full sympathy from the United States for the intelligent efforts of Cuba to induce sugar-producing countries to keep production and consumption at a proper balance. We are publishing elsewhere in this number a timely statement on this problem of the world's sugar market.

*Our Message  
from the Pres-  
ident of Cuba*

No better expression of the fine spirit of amity and goodwill that prevails among the American Republics could be made than that which we have the honor to present in this number of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS from the pen of the President of the Republic of Cuba, Hon. Gerardo Machado, which will be found on page 33. This practical statesman and economic authority gives in brief and eloquent paragraphs a picture of the progress of Cuba within the past quarter-century. His own spirit of cordial hospitality and of broad-minded good-will goes far to give assurance to those who are expecting the best results from the sixth Pan-American Conference.

*Inter-American Investments and Trade* Members of the conference at Havana will find in our present number a remarkably comprehensive statement by Mr. Sisson, Vice-President of the Guaranty Trust Company, of the growth of trade and commerce between the United States and the other American republics. As regards a few special commodities, we had long ago found a market in South America. But for manufactured goods in general we were engaged almost wholly in supplying our own domestic demands. During the period of the Great War and immediately afterwards, South American consumers looked to us for current supplies of a great variety of commodities, because Germany, France, and England were not then in position to give full service to their trans-Atlantic customers. As Mr. Sisson shows, our new-found Latin American customers have learned to do business with us on satisfactory terms, and we are now carrying on a larger trade with these republics than England, France, and Germany combined. A part of this change is due to better shipping facilities; and it will be the duty of our Government to see that our merchant marine engaged in this inter-American trade is not only maintained but further developed. As against our sales of commodities to Central and South America and the West Indies, we are bringing back increasing quantities of the raw materials and food products of those republics.

*Peace in the Western Hemisphere* In contrast with the dangers that beset the highly militarized and uneasy nations of Europe, there is not only actual peace throughout the length and breadth of the western hemisphere, but also clear prospects as regards the future. The difficulty involved in a final settlement of the Tacna-Arica dispute is not to be overlooked. Yet we have reason to hope with some confidence that the best minds of Chile, Peru, and Bolivia may see the advantage of uniting upon an agreement that will cement the friendship of the nations of the West Coast of South America, and set a noble example to the world. Some plan for a Bolivian corridor to the sea, accompanied by guaranties of friendship, could not fail to have a moral influence upon the adjustment of several acute boundary problems that are disturbing Europe. Civil strife in Nicaragua is at least in

abeyance, and it is hoped that stability will follow the elections that are soon to be held. Revolutionary tendencies in the continent of South America seem to be a thing of the past; and as regards Central America the growth of agriculture, trade, and commerce makes political insurrection too much of a nuisance to be tolerated.

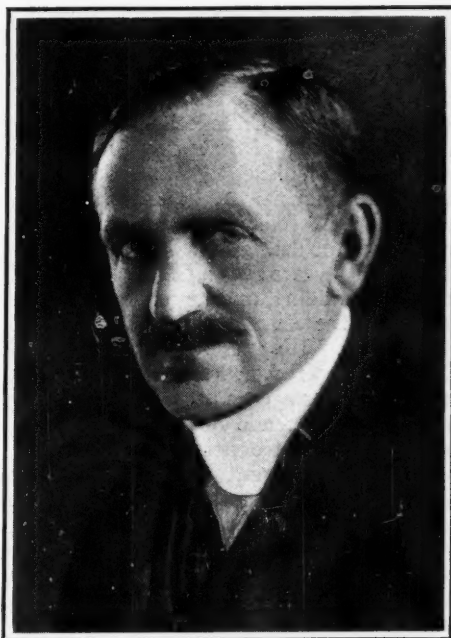
*Mexico as the Exception* Mexico, with immense resources and great possibilities for the future, is in a transitional period that continues to cause disturbance at home and anxiety abroad. Mr. Morrow, our new Ambassador, is undoubtedly doing everything that any citizen of the United States could do to bring about the equitable adjustment of all differences between the two countries. The Supreme Court of Mexico has rendered decisions favorable to the claims of American oil companies that had protested against an *ex post facto* application of certain clauses in the new Constitution. It is hoped that out of these decisions will grow an accepted policy in Mexico that will permit the rapid adjustment of particular cases, so that Mexican industry may resume its activity with the assurance that the rights of invested capital will be respected. Whatever one may think of the controversy between the Mexican Government and the Roman Catholic Church, the solution must be worked out locally and is not properly a subject of outside interference. Furthermore, the terrible fate that has overtaken the leaders who were making a presidential campaign against Obregon as the chosen successor of President Calles, is also a matter concerning which no outside intervention is possible. If General Serrano and the other opposition leaders were actually engaged in a military movement to overthrow the Government, they could not have been unaware of the price they would have to pay for failure. The court-martial, in times of Mexican revolutionary strife, proceeds swiftly and without mercy.

*The First Five American Conferences* The conference at Havana, opening on January 16, will consider many matters of interest and importance, and may continue its labors through February and into March. It ranks in number as the "Sixth International Conference of American States." The first was held at Washington and lasted more than six months, beginning October 2,

1889, and ending April 19, 1890. This conference resulted in the establishment of the organization now called the Pan-American Union, which has its headquarters in the beautiful building at Washington for which Mr. Carnegie provided the greater part of the cost. The second conference met at Mexico City October 22, 1901, and lasted just three months, ending January 22, 1902. This meeting was notable for promoting arbitration and for giving adherence to the treaties recently adopted at The Hague Conference. The third of these American conferences was held at Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, opening July 21, 1906, and ending August 26. All the American republics except Haiti and Venezuela were represented at Rio. This conference decidedly strengthened the work of the Pan-American Union. The next was held at Buenos Aires, in 1910, continuing from July 12 to August 30. Bolivia alone was without representation at Buenos Aires. The business considered was of very wide range and of much practical importance. The fifth and latest of the conferences met at Santiago, Chile, on March 25, 1923, and continued until May 3. This meeting had decided effect upon the improvement and codification of international law and upon such matters as public-health administration. It dealt with commercial aviation, electrical communications, and a remarkable series of interesting questions.

#### *The Havana Program*

The program for the Havana meeting contains a wealth of interesting and suggestive topics. Those having to do with juridical and legal subjects alone would justify the assembling of the delegates from all the American republics. Another important series of topics is grouped under the head of "Problems of Communications." Still another sphere of activity, with nine subjects listed, is entitled "Economic Problems," which are rather technical for the most part, but of much concern to those engaged in any way in commercial transactions. Under the title of "Social Problems" the most important matters have to do with public-health conditions and arrangements. Under guidance of Dr. L. S. Rowe, the accomplished Director-General of the Pan-American Union, hand-books and ample materials for the use of the delegates have been duly prepared in advance. These documents and printed materials



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#### **DR. LEO S. ROWE, DIRECTOR GENERAL OF THE PAN-AMERICAN UNION**

With ideal qualifications, Dr. Rowe has served for seven years as executive head of the organization of American republics. For more than twenty-five years he has had exceptional experience in Latin-American affairs, having filled many responsible positions. As a professor of political science he has maintained relations with the University of Pennsylvania, has long been President of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, and as a publicist has written extensively. He goes to Havana as one of the delegates of the United States.

relating to the work of the Pan-American Union ought also to be stimulating to the guiding spirits of the League of Nations.

#### *Eminent Delegates Chosen*

American jurists have given great attention to the development of international law, and this topic will be prominent at Havana, with scholars and statesmen of many countries participating. The arbitration treaties already existing between American republics and other countries would fill several large volumes if printed together in full. To sum up, it may be said with confidence that the Pan-American Union, working as an official association, has amply met all reasonable expectations and may well look to the future with hope and confidence. The lists of delegates to Havana indicate the attendance of responsible officials and highly qualified citizens from all the republics of the western world. In our issue

last month we printed the names of the delegates from the United States. At the head of our delegation will be Hon. Charles E. Hughes. No one could be better qualified to represent the United States than our former Secretary of State, with his varied experience in judicial, legal and administrative work. Our new Ambassador to Cuba, Mr. Noble B. Judah, becomes ex-officio a member of the delegation. He has for more than twenty years been a Chicago lawyer of excellent standing, and he made a brilliant record in the American army during the Great War. He succeeds Major-General Crowder, who resigned his post at Havana several months ago on account of declining health, having made for himself a strong position in the esteem of the Cuban people. Mr. Dwight Morrow, our Ambassador in Mexico, who last month made an extensive tour with President Calles, inspecting various irrigation works and other projects of Mexican development, will go to Havana with keen interest in the work of the conference and with zeal to promote understanding and coöperation.

*President  
Coolidge  
Again Declines*

The opening of Congress on Monday, December 5, resulted in the expected reelection of Mr. Longworth as Speaker of the Seventieth Congress. There were no important changes in the organization of either house. President Coolidge held first place in the attention of Washington and of the country for several days, by reason of three utterances of documentary character. First was his annual message to Congress, second the separate message transmitting the budget, and third an address to the members of the Republican National Committee. Of these utterances it was the third that aroused the most widespread interest and comment. It was not those parts of the address that commended political committees and their work, but the concluding sentences that were taken as of chief consequence. In these sentences Mr. Coolidge reiterated his announcement of last summer to the effect that he would not be a candidate for reelection. He did not say explicitly that he would refuse under all circumstances to serve another consecutive term. But he asked the Republican party to consider him as wholly eliminated. There has been a very widespread movement, mostly spontaneous, that had persisted in holding that Mr. Coolidge must be drafted for another term.

*A Decision  
Not to Be  
Questioned*

The President's position is manifestly sincere as well as dignified. In view of facts as they now exist, there is no reason whatever for any attempt to force a nomination upon President Coolidge. Mere politics, or the chance of a convention deadlock because of rivalry among the supporters of different candidates, would afford no proper reason for a change in Mr. Coolidge's attitude. Only a grave national emergency, the like of which is not in prospect, could induce Mr. Coolidge to accept a renomination, even if tendered to him unanimously by the Republican National Convention. This firm statement by the President had some effect upon the National Committee in its decision, after protracted balloting, to hold the convention at Kansas City, opening on the twelfth day of next June. San Francisco had previously counted somewhat confidently upon securing the convention, but the contest finally lay between Detroit and Kansas City. The choice was reached upon the twentieth ballot, which gave Kansas City fifty-eight votes as against thirty-nine for Detroit.

*Mr. Hughes  
A'so  
Declines*

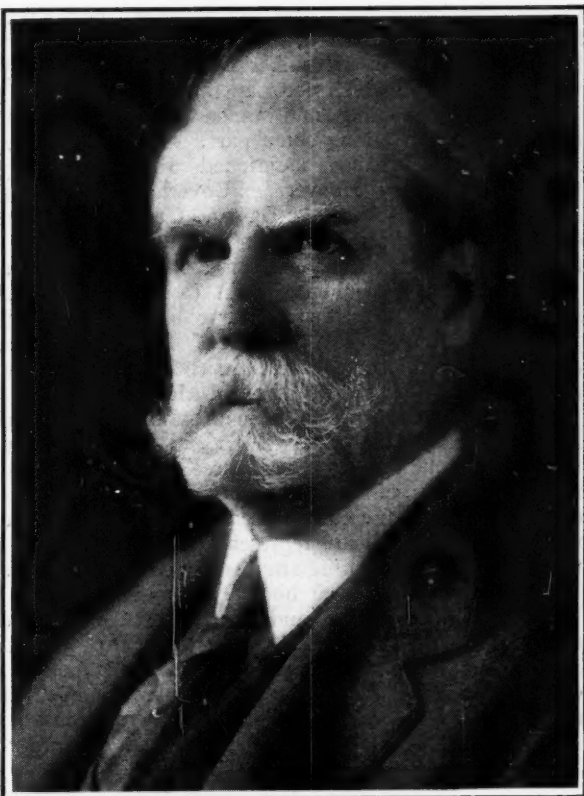
The President's announcement was accepted as taking him definitely out of the field. This was followed almost immediately by a brief statement from Mr. Hughes reiterating the one that he had made several months ago. Mr. Hughes is even more precise and conclusive than Mr. Coolidge, because he declares that he would refuse to accept a nomination. Although the previous statement of Mr. Hughes was explicit, there was reason for his repeating it. A growing demand for his nomination had arisen. In his earlier statement he had given emphasis to his preference for Mr. Coolidge. He now informs the party that his position is not altered by the President's refusal to be a candidate. Mr. Hughes must therefore be regarded as quite out of the picture. That he could have entered the convention with assured support of the great delegations of New York and Pennsylvania, not to mention those of Massachusetts and the New England States, was an undisputed fact. But Mr. Hughes is a public man whose services, let us hope, may be available for many long years to come for special duties, even if he is not called on to succeed President Coolidge. Thus he will at no little sacrifice to himself have given pro-



tracted study to the subjects that will be dealt with at the Havana Conference, before the opening of its sessions. Meanwhile, he has made a report under appointment as Special Master by the United States Supreme Court to pass upon the evidence in the case of the alleged undue diversion of water from Lake Michigan through the Chicago Drainage Canal. In this action the complainants were the Governments of several States bordering upon the Great Lakes.

Mr. Hughes as  
Pan-American  
Statesman

No better statement in review of Mr. Charles Evans Hughes's character and record as an international pacificator has ever been made than that which takes form in an article by Mr. William Hard that we publish with unusual pleasure in our present number. Mr. Hard recounts the western hemisphere problems with which Mr. Hughes was confronted when he became Secretary of State in 1921. How the Secretary dealt with Mexican issues is set forth in a way that it is most timely to recall at the present moment. In like manner it is well to have this summary of the efforts of Mr. Hughes to promote external harmony and internal order in Central America. In respect to his Cuban and Dominican policies it is enough to say that no foreign statesman could be more welcome in the West Indies than the gentleman who has been chosen by Mr. Coolidge to head our American delegation at the Pan-American Conference soon to open in Havana. Incidentally, it is well to remember that the constructive genius of Mr. Hughes, then Secretary of State, was not only the initiating force that resulted in the Dawes Plan, but was steadily at work to bring about its formulation and acceptance. Since Mr. Hughes had been the master mind of the Washington Conference that has shaped the present fortunate conditions of external peace in the Pacific, it might



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#### HON. CHARLES EVANS HUGHES, OF NEW YORK

Mr. Hughes declares that he is too old to serve as President Coolidge's successor, but certainly his services were never in more demand than now, and never more acceptable. Just twenty years ago he was in the middle of his first term as Governor of New York. He resigned in the fall of 1910 to take his seat as a member of the Supreme Court. On June 10, 1916, he resigned to accept nomination for the presidency. He would have been elected but for a curious party division in California. Turning from his New York law practice, he became Secretary of State under President Harding, March 4, 1921, and retired four years later. As our foremost international statesman, he shares honors with Elihu Root.

be worth while to suggest that he should at some time in the future represent us in a world conference to bring about permanent international control of the high seas, with the abolition of naval warfare as a part of the general movement toward disarmament.

#### Candidates Under Discussion

With the date and place of the Republican convention agreed upon, and with the dates for the holding of the earlier presidential primaries not many weeks distant, President Coolidge was justified in telling the Republican National Committee that the time had now come for an earnest consideration of candidates. With such preëminent men

as Mr. Coolidge himself and Mr. Hughes no longer to be considered, there began in the second week of December a nationwide discussion in which newspapers, practical politicians, and men and women voters everywhere were taking some part. The names most commonly mentioned were those of Secretary Hoover, ex-Governor Lowden, and Vice-President Dawes. Concerning each of these three men it is said by those qualified to express an opinion that his selection would do credit to the intelligence and character of the Republican party. All three of them are men of well-poised judgment, and of wide experience in public affairs. They are all men of education, broad culture, high professional standing, of literary skill, and well-trained in the art of public discourse. All three have remarkable grasp of financial and economic questions. All of them are versed in international affairs. All are representative of the best American traditions and sentiment. They are all agreeably at home East and West, North and South, and are without sectional bias or prejudice. There are other men in the party well qualified to occupy the White House, but these three are the most frequently mentioned.

*Questions  
and  
Sections*

Various States may have favorite sons whose names will appear in the primary elections. Thus Senator Norris of Nebraska, Senator Curtis of Kansas, Senator Willis of Ohio, and perhaps others, may be brought before the convention. There is no clear reason for any bold cleavage within the Republican ranks upon particular issues. It is reasonably certain that the prohibition question will cause hardly a ripple upon the smooth surface of platform sentiment. Doubtless this year, as in 1924, the platform will call for law enforcement. Neither is it likely that certain details of the McNary-Haugen bill can be made to seem important enough to justify Eastern delegates in the indulgence of any prejudice whatever against the candidacy of Mr. Lowden. On the other hand, it may be asked if the Corn Belt delegates have any true ground for thinking that Mr. Hoover is not a friend of the American farmer.

*Mr. Coolidge  
Surveys the  
Country's Status*

The President's message will stand historically as a document reviewing American conditions for the year 1927. Able handling

of our war debt has reduced it by one-third and has cut down the annual interest charge by about 35 per cent. Economy and debt payment make further tax-reduction possible, and in the opinion of the President and of Secretary Mellon we may now safely reduce our annual revenues from taxation by about \$225,000,000. The message speaks firmly for the maintenance of the navy, and for further development of military and naval aviations. But it opposes competitive armaments. The failure of the Geneva Conference, in the President's opinion, leaves us just where we were before, so that we ought to confine our building program to our strict necessities. Private operation of the merchant marine is strongly advocated. Postal flying, and other aviation services to connect us with Mexico and with Central and South America are advocated. The President expresses interest in the Pan-American Congress of Highways to meet at Rio de Janeiro next July. A parcel-post change in favor of Cuba is recommended. Great improvement of conditions in the Philippine Islands is reported, and high credit is given to the administration of the late Governor-General Leonard Wood. Attention is also paid to the progress and welfare of Porto Rico.

*Tariff and  
Other  
Policies*

The President declares that there is a marked improvement in the general condition of American agriculture. The assistance of agricultural coöperative associations is urged, and the difficulties of dealing with surplus farm products are discussed at some length. As regards the tariff, we are reminded that about two-thirds of our imports come in free of duty. We collect more than \$600,000,000 in the form of tariff duties on imports, the greater part being levied on luxuries or on other articles which no one now seriously proposes to admit at lower rates. The high duties on industrial products affect only about 12 per cent. of our total imports. The President argues in favor of maintaining those high duties on such commodities, for the sake of our own domestic industry and commerce. Stricter supervision of the Federal and Joint Stock Land Banks is advocated with good reason. The Muscle Shoals development, the President discovers, cannot make nitrates for farm fertilizers advantageously, and should be turned over to companies that will distribute hydro-electric power. The problem

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of flood control in the lower Mississippi Valley is explained and presented, with advice that the situation be regarded as one of national importance requiring remedies provided at Federal expense, as set forth by the board of engineers. Various other waterway problems are discussed, with recommendations.

#### Various Topics

The message deals very hopefully

with the question of enforcing prohibition. We are told that 50,000 members of the Negro race are now on the Federal payrolls, drawing about \$50,000,000 a year in aggregate salaries. The progress of the race is praised, and its favorable treatment is urged. We are assured that the condition of the American Indian is much improved, and are reminded that full citizenship was given to the Indians in 1924. The reform of the coal-mining industry, involving better relations of capital and labor, is urgently advised. Conservation of petroleum resources is urged, through public and private coöperation. Complete return of alien property (held since the war period) is recommended. Legislation in the interest of railroad consolidation is declared to be advisable. We are spending annually about \$750,000,000 for the care of veterans, and some administrative improvements are deemed advisable. The President recommends the establishment of a national Department of Education and Relief. Some detailed changes in the immigration laws are suggested. The public building program for the Capital City is mentioned with approval. We are reminded of the approaching two-hundredth anniversary of the birth of George Washington, as also of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the western expedition of George Rogers Clark, and the taking of Vincennes, Indiana. We are declared to be ready to coöperate with any government in China which may emerge from the present chaos, in promoting the welfare of the Chinese people. The mission of Henry L. Stimson to Nicaragua



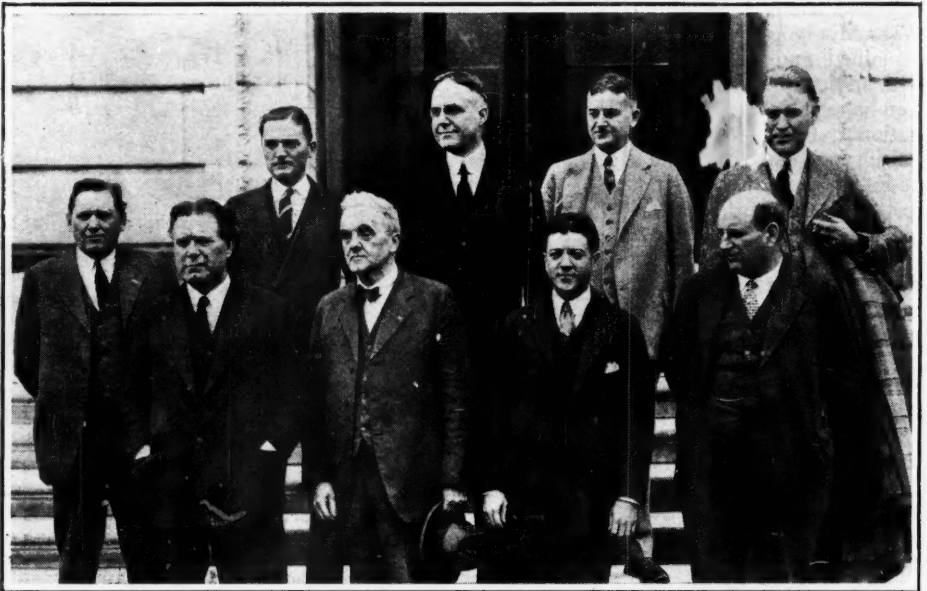
PRESIDENT COOLIDGE RECEIVES HIS CHRISTMAS SEALS

The campaign which, with coöperation of the Post Office Department and the Government, sells Christmas seals each year to aid in the fight against tuberculosis has been pushed almost as widely this year as the campaign for membership in the American Red Cross Society.

is reported as having been successful in securing peace. The message is full of information, and is altogether a wise and temperate document, although its treatment of tariffs and agricultural relief has been criticized.

#### The Budget Message

The President's Budget Message usefully elaborated our fiscal position and conveyed to Congress careful estimates of the needs of the various departments and public services for the fiscal year ending with June, 1929. It must be borne in mind that figures setting forth the government's future income can only be estimates. Nobody knows what the surplus will be. If we include the Post Office Department, which is practically self-supporting, and which receives and pays out about three-fourths of a billion dollars a year, the total estimates of expenditure amount to \$4,259,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1929. This compares with a total of \$4,140,000,000 of outgo for the current fiscal year. The estimated surplus of income for this year (which ends June 30) is \$454,000,000. The estimated surplus for the following year (ending June 30, 1929) is \$252,540,000. It should be said that in recent years such advance estimates of revenue have been too conservative. Business prosperity has made the income-tax yield greater each year than



THE NINE PROGRESSIVE SENATORS WHO HOLD THE BALANCE OF POWER IN THE UPPER CHAMBER AT WASHINGTON

The Republicans were permitted to organize the Senate at the opening of Congress in December in return for assuring the so-called "insurgent" group that certain measures would be allowed to come to vote. The four men in the front row are Senators Borah of Idaho, Norris of Nebraska, LaFollette of Wisconsin, and Frazier of North Dakota. In the back row are Senators Brookhart of Iowa, Nye of North Dakota, Howell of Nebraska, Blaine of Wisconsin, and Shipstead of Minnesota.

was anticipated, and has also swelled the volume of revenue from tariff dues and from various internal revenue taxes. The United States Chamber of Commerce and some Democratic leaders in Congress hold that the outlook for excess revenues would justify a much greater lowering of taxes than the President and the Secretary of the Treasury believe to be advisable.

*Smith  
and Vare  
Rejected*

The United States Senate did not need a clear majority of Republicans to maintain party control. Under existing circumstances, the Democrats felt themselves under no temptation to try to assume responsibility as a party. On the contrary, they will be quite content through occasional coalition with a group of Western Progressives to determine Senate action on particular questions. Thus on December 7, by a vote of 53 to 28, the Senate refused to seat Senator-elect Frank L. Smith of Illinois. Two days later, by a vote of 56 to 30, the same action was taken in the case of Senator-elect William S. Vare of Pennsylvania. Thirty-eight Democrats voted against seating Vare, with five

Democrats voting in his favor. Twenty-five Republicans voted to accept his credentials and give him his seat, while seventeen Republicans voted the other way. This action was based upon the investigation made by a Senate Committee under the chairmanship of Mr. Reed of Missouri, charging the improper use of large sums of money in securing the nomination and election of Mr. Smith and Mr. Vare. These votes do not make permanently vacant the two Senate seats in question. Within a few weeks the Reed Committee will make its final reports in both cases, and the Senate will then take final action. It is regarded as probable that the seats will be declared vacant. There are constitutional questions involved which are of no slight importance. There are precedents for admitting men on their credentials and afterwards expelling them on charges as to their qualifications. There are also precedents in favor of refusing to allow Senators-elect to take the oath of office until charges against them have been duly acted upon. The circumstances demand prompt action upon the charges.



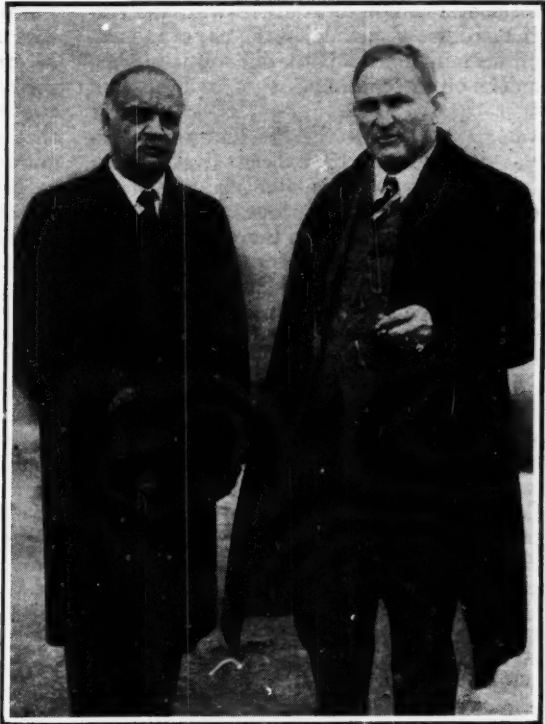
*The New  
Tax Bill*

The new revenue bill prepared by the Ways and Means Committee

of the House was ready for prompt introduction, and the debate almost at once assumed the right of way. The report did not follow closely the recommendations of Secretary Mellon. According to estimates, the bill would produce a slightly larger revenue reduction than the Treasury had advised; but, after all, the amounts of income to accrue from either plan are purely guesses; and it is easily conceivable that actual results might prove many millions of dollars greater or less than these official guesses in advance. Mr. Mellon has advised a reduction to 12 per cent. of the present corporation tax of 13½ per cent. on net profits. The Committee goes a little further and agrees upon 11½ per cent. In the judgment of most business men, 10 per cent. would be an ample figure. Mr. Mellon justly recommended some reduction of surtaxes upon incomes within the so-called intermediate brackets. Our present system favors the very large incomes and wholly exempts the small ones. If we are to maintain the plan of arbitrarily progressive rates (which, by the way, is an unjust and dangerous expedient in times of profound peace) we ought to fix the rates more carefully and wisely.

*Some  
Taxation  
Details*

Mr. Mellon recommended the repeal of the Federal Estate tax, but the Ways and Means Committee ignored this advice. The intention of the bill is to apply the reduced tax on corporations to income for the current fiscal year. The Federal automobile tax, which has helped to pay for good roads, now 3 per cent. on the selling price of a car, is reduced one-half. The tax on theater tickets will raise the exemption from seventy-five cents to one dollar. The tax on club dues is reduced from 10 per cent. to 3 per cent. The tax on stock transfers, now 2 per cent., is reduced one-half. The bill, of course, carries many details relating to the administration of the system. As regards normal rates and surtaxes, the measure does not change the present law. It was



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## THE TWO PARTY LEADERS OF THE SENATE

At the left is Senator Curtis, of Kansas, and at the right Senator Robinson, of Arkansas. Both are men of exceptional capacity for public affairs. Mr. Curtis is a favorite son of Republican Kansas and Mr. Robinson is a formidable Democratic leader.

expected that it would pass the House before the Christmas recess, and it was hoped that it would make its way through the Senate and become a law in time to apply its features to the tax payments that become due on March 15.

*The Oil  
Cases at  
Washington*

The sensations of November in the oil trials at Washington had been almost forgotten in December as other matters of public interest claimed attention. Alleged jury tampering had resulted in a mistrial, and it was provided that a new trial should begin in January. Meanwhile, the local grand juries and courts were dealing with the secondary offenses growing out of the trial of the primary cause. These secondary offenses were charges of espionage with a view to bribing or influencing members of the jury; and further involved were charges of criminal contempt of court in refusing to answer questions, with further accompanying charges of perjury and of every known

form of attempt to interfere with the efficient course of justice by the use of money, of intimidation, subornation of witnesses, and so on *ad infinitum*.

*Aviation  
and Navies*

While the British and Americans have been arguing with perhaps undue stress upon the question of cruiser tonnage as related to non-competitive navies, the chemists have been working out the problem of more powerful explosive bombs, and the aviation experts have been perfecting the data to prove their assertion that surface fighting-ships are virtually obsolete as instruments of defense. The French are giving chief attention to the building up of an invincible military air force. As for the Germans, having had their high-seas fleet sunk, and being denied the doubtful privilege of maintaining a large army, they are driven perforce to intense effort in the field of aviation, and particularly to the further study of chemical warfare.

*Air Travel  
for Peace  
and Trade*

All countries meanwhile are beginning to show the keenest interest in commercial aviation. It will be remembered that Colonel Lindbergh's flight to France came at a time when unfriendliness towards America was finding its most disagreeable expression. Our young ambassador who landed from the air seems to have brought about a change of feeling that has had more than momentary effect. It is now seriously proposed to follow up the suggestion of Foreign Minister Briand, and negotiate a treaty between France and the United States outlawing war and agreeing to rely wholly upon judicial tribunals or arbitration for the settlement of any future disputes. Mutual interest in precisely such non-political activities as trans-Atlantic aviation is having much to do with the development of those common interests that are removing prejudices and exorcising the war spirit.

*Lindbergh's  
Mexican  
Adventure*

It was one of the most felicitous circumstances of the year 1927, in its last days, that Colonel Charles A. Lindbergh decided upon a flight to Mexico. Not only was the interest of the Mexican people wholly genuine, but the project gave a welcomed opportunity for the exhibition of revived good-will between Mexico and the United

States. Thus Colonel Lindbergh was in fact abetting the efforts of Ambassador Morrow to help bring back to complete cordiality the relationships between these two American republics. It was intimated that Colonel Lindbergh's expanded program might take him across to Cuba. While on his southward tour it would be a matter of striking interest if this American ambassador took advantage of the opportunity to fly to Nicaragua and Panama, and also visited our fellow-citizens in Porto Rico, looking in later upon the Pan-American Conference at Havana. Colonel Lindbergh's father was for many years a Member of Congress from Minnesota—a Progressive of independent mind and strong convictions. If he had lived, nothing could have been more gratifying to him than to have witnessed the unprecedented reception accorded to his son on the floor of the House of Representatives, when brought there somewhat incidentally while in Washington planning his Mexican trip on Saturday, December 10. Since his return from France, Colonel Lindbergh has flown in his "Spirit of St. Louis" to every one of the forty-eight States of the Union, encouraging the establishment of landing fields, and proclaiming the future of aviation for the carrying of mails, passengers, and commodities. His modesty seems only excelled by his straightforwardness and practical capacity. Speaker Longworth referred to him as "America's most attractive citizen."

*Reports of  
Our Two  
War Lords*

The annual reports of Department heads are always good reading, and while the press gives them reasonable attention it would be desirable if the volumes themselves could be more widely circulated. Ten years ago we were in the thick of a great war; but it is highly instructive to read the new report of the War Department to see what questions are in the forefront. Secretary Davis lays stress on conditions in the Philippines, in Porto Rico, and in the Panama Canal Zone. He describes the work of the Army engineers relating to flood control and waterways, and he dilates upon the more technical subjects of military aviation and industrial organization for defensive purposes. The Secretary of the Navy reports a year of exceptional activity and usefulness on the part of the Navy, telling of conditions on the coast of China,

of Marines in Nicaragua, of naval air services in the Mississippi flood region from the Pensacola station, and of a great number of matters all showing alertness and excellent *morale*. The failure of the Naval Conference at Geneva has only a passing word, while the subject of the naval oil reserves is presented with considerable fullness. A recommendation that will interest young men throughout the country is that which proposes five instead of three midshipmen to be appointed to the Naval Academy by each Senator and Representative in Congress. The Naval Academy gives a fine training for life, as well as for a necessary professional and patriotic service. Its graduates in time to come will have part in developing our American merchant marine; will be encouraged if they desire to specialize in such great spheres of interest as aviation and radio, and will have a foundation for successful careers in mechanical or electrical engineering.

*Our Three  
Business  
Chiefs*

The reports of the Secretary of the Treasury and the Secretary of Commerce are extremely valuable documents in the field of finance, commerce, and economic activity. It would be impossible to summarize in a few words a volume of such importance in the history of American finance as Secretary Mellon's report. As for that of Secretary Hoover, it affords an almost dazzling panorama of business progress and of departmental energy in the service of our foreign and domestic commerce. The annual brochure of Secretary Jardine reviews agriculture in general as well as in detailed discussion of such products as cotton, corn, live stock and various others. For the first time in the history of the country, we have considerably decreased the area of crop lands, having reached a maximum in the war period. But the total production of field crops and live stock has increased, in spite of smaller acreage. With the tractor, the combine and other improved machinery, we are managing the producing side of farming decidedly better than the marketing side.

*Economic  
Side of  
Agriculture*

The subjects of coöperation and farm credit are emphasized by Secretary Jardine. The striking fact is brought out that farmers are paying direct taxes that have increased more than 150 per cent. between 1914 and

the beginning of 1927. These taxes amount to fully one-third of the net income of agriculture. The drift of farm population has resulted in a decline of three millions during the last seven years. Reasons for this change are ably analyzed in the report. There is an especially valuable section devoted to the discussion of research work of a scientific kind in the agricultural field. The economic and marketing services of our Department of Agriculture are well set forth, and Secretary Jardine's report as a whole is a document of wide informational range. It bears testimony to the indispensable services performed so creditably through this governmental agency.

*Citizens  
Should Read  
the Documents*

The report of Postmaster General New contains information of wide popular interest, and we shall make further reference to certain problems of the postal service in a subsequent number. The Secretary of Labor, Mr. Davis, points out the development of certain useful activities, and to these also we shall have occasion to revert. The report of Miss Grace Abbott, Chief of the Children's Bureau in the Labor Department, is a document that we would like to commend especially to women voters. To obtain it, they have only to enclose ten cents in postage stamps to the Superintendent of Documents at the Government Printing Office in Washington. Mr. Hoover's report may be had for thirty cents, and the extensive volume in which are to be found the report of Mr. Work, the Secretary of the Interior, is procurable from the Printing Office at forty cents. This deals with the Land Office, Indian Affairs, Pensions, the Bureau of Education, the Geological Survey, the numerous projects carried on under the Bureau of Reclamation, the National Park Service, the affairs of Alaska and Hawaii, and a good many other topics. Members of Congress have at their disposal a considerable number of copies of these yearly reports, which they are always glad to send to constituents who really care about them, and who are willing to educate themselves by a first-hand study of the business of our Government. A high-school teacher or a college professor who would spend a fortnight or a month in carrying his classes in civil government and politics through these annual reports would be astonished at the educational results that would accrue from such an experiment.

*Justice  
in  
New York*

The charges of graft and waste relating to the New York State census of 1925 had almost passed out of the public mind, while the investigator, Mr. Le Boeuf, appointed by the Governor under the Moreland Act, was taking a much longer time than had been expected in the preparation and filing of his report. Governor Smith has meanwhile started a fresh discussion by proposing to take away from judges the power to impose sentence upon persons convicted of felonious crime, and to assign that power to a board made up of men highly salaried, including psychiatrists and experts in criminology. He thinks such men should receive stipends of \$25,000 each per year, this amount being the annual salary of the Governor himself after the first of January. Such a scheme might cost a million dollars a year, the Governor states; but, he adds, "What would that be compared to a modern treatment of criminals by the richest State in the Union?" These are subjects which Governor Smith has considered for a long time in the light of great practical experience, and with unusual opportunities to observe and to form opinions. His views were expressed at a hearing of the State Crime Commission which is carefully considering some change in the method of sentencing criminals in New York. The chairman of the Commission is State Senator Caleb H. Baumes, who has heretofore led in changes of criminal law and procedure about which articles have been published in this periodical. In our present number, Professor Cressman, of New York, discusses the effect of one feature of the Baumes laws, namely, that which compels judges to impose the penalty of life imprisonment for a fourth conviction. The law has its clear merits, but there is undoubtedly room for some elasticity in its administration.

*Crime,  
Freedom,  
and Youth*

We are in the very thick, all over the United States, of a serious attempt to understand better the nature and causes of criminal conduct, the remedies to be applied, and the social bearings of our dealing with lawbreakers. The striking fact as regards some kinds of law violation is the extreme youth of offenders. There is a precocity and an audacity shown in burglaries, hold-ups, and other crimes against property that were at least much less noticeable a dozen years ago. As against the recklessness and

misconduct of many young people of the present day, there is to be noted a greater eagerness for education, and a keener pursuit of wholesome physical sports and contests than ever before. With much talk about the tendencies of the present age, there are wisecracks who declare that our young people are drifting rapidly away from the paths of wisdom, self-discipline, and respect for duty, while there are others who think that the youth of America, while asserting claims to freedom as never before, are quite as honest and as responsible as those of any former generation.

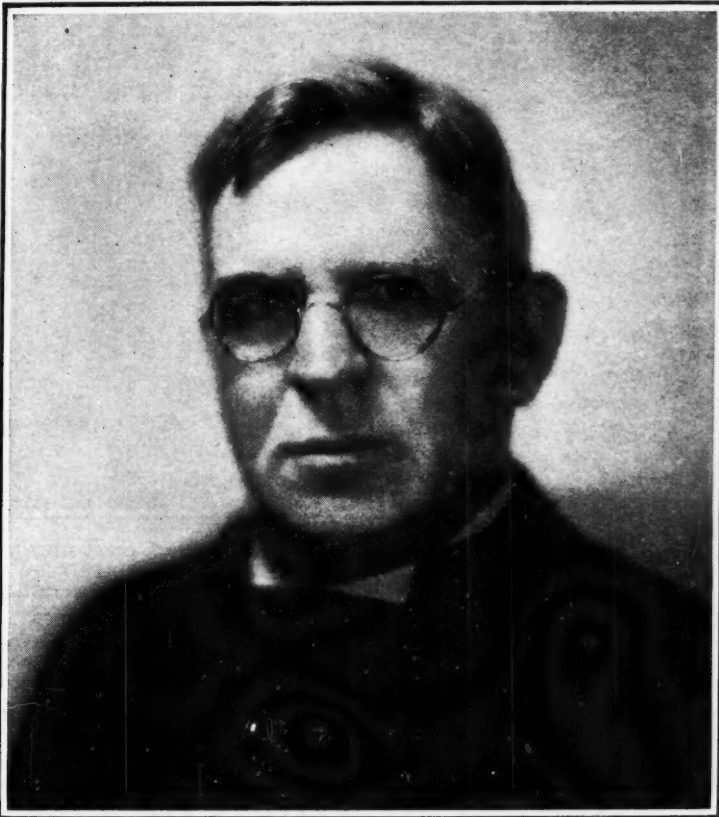
*Dr. Cadman  
Makes  
Diagnosis*

Upon this subject of our young people and their tendencies we asked Dr. S. Parkes Cadman some months ago to prepare an article for our readers; and he has now taken time to write carefully an expression of views that will be read, as we believe, with keen interest and wide approval. He reviews recent tendencies and movements, and finds some things to criticize and some things to praise. He lays stress upon the importance of the domestic unit, and the character-building value of the home. He sees no inconsistency between the pursuit of science and the sanctions and motives of the religious life. He would teach young people to see how harmonious fine moral standards are with a real pursuit of beauty in life, in nature, and in art. If there is fault in young people, Dr. Cadman is able to trace it mainly to similar faults in those who are older. He sees that to live well is in any case a difficult art, and that it is well worth while to study the rules and conditions that affect true success, and to find satisfaction in practising them. Dr. Cadman thinks that young people wish to face life frankly and openly, and to be shown what things in conduct and in belief are vital and worthy of intelligent acceptance; and he believes that in this they are fully justified.

*A Leader  
of the  
Day*

Dr. Cadman has acquired a remarkable position of influence, and it extends beyond the bounds of the United States. Sir Henry Lunn, who has spent several weeks recently in this country, is one of Dr. Cadman's intimate friends of long standing, and at our request he has written several pages of a biographical character about the eminent president of the Federal Council





Photograph by Lee Rollinson, for the REVIEW OF REVIEWS

REV. S. PARKES CADMAN, D.D., OF BROOKLYN, N. Y., PRESIDENT OF THE  
FEDERAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA

of Churches. Although no man is more genuinely American in his spirit, Dr. Cadman's early life was spent in his native England, and he had become an acceptable preacher before he entered upon his ministerial labors in the United States. With remarkable mental energy and great eloquence as a public speaker, Dr. Cadman is also a profound thinker who does not allow his ceaseless activities to interfere with his habits of reading and study. His Sunday afternoon radio audience is probably the greatest to which any one man regularly speaks. Also, his answers to questions as syndicated in newspapers are read by millions of people.

*Art  
in American  
Life* As in full harmony with the spirit of Dr. Cadman's article, which is in the field of ethics, let us call attention to a brief but remark-

ably timely and important article by Mr. Robert W. De Forest on our American progress in the application of art to the affairs of practical life. This article is published in the present number, under the title "Getting in Step with Beauty." Mr. De Forest, as President of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, and as a man who has given great thought and attention to our American progress in art education and in the application of æsthetic principles to the products of industry and the surroundings of home life, writes in the most encouraging and hopeful spirit. The trained ability to enjoy beautiful things, and the ambition to lift one's associations from the sordid to those that show refinement and good taste, supply motives in precise harmony with those to which Dr. Cadman appeals in his article on the tendencies of our new generation.



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**COLONEL LINDBERGH LEAVES BOLLING FIELD, NEAR WASHINGTON, ON A NEW MISSION OF GOOD WILL TO MEXICO**

At noon on December 13, after but little planning and preparation, Lindbergh took to the air again in his famous plane, the *Spirit of St. Louis*. Twenty-seven hours later he landed on the Valbuena flying field, outside of Mexico City. There he was greeted by President Calles (who had declared a national holiday), all the members of the Cabinet, and many thousands of Mexican citizens. This non-stop flight of 2,000 miles was a fitting climax to the young aviator's tour of forty-eight States ended in November, and was completed just seven days after the invitation had been extended by the Mexican President.

# A Record of Current Events

FROM NOVEMBER 15 TO DECEMBER 14, 1927

## PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

December 4.—The House Ways and Means Committee publishes a new revenue bill, reducing taxes \$235,854,000; \$166,000,000 is taken off the corporation tax and the automobile levy is halved.

December 5-6.—The Seventieth Congress convenes (see page 14); the President's message is read to both Houses.

December 7-9.—The Senate votes 50 to 32 against seating Senator-elect Frank L. Smith (Rep., Ill.), whose campaign fund amounted to \$458,782, and 56 to 30 against William S. Vare (Rep., Pa.); they may defend themselves on the floor.

The President's budget message for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1929, calls for \$4,258,793,765.

December 8.—Congress receives from Mr. Coolidge a report by Major-General Jadwin on Mississippi flood control; the Government would assume 80 per cent. and affected States 20 per cent. of the total cost of \$296,400,000.

December 10-12.—The Congressional Medal of Honor is voted to Col. Charles A. Lindbergh.

December 14.—In the House, Mr. Butler (Rep., Pa.) introduces an Administration bill providing \$800,000,000 for new naval vessels.

## AMERICAN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

November 15.—Justice Siddons of District of Columbia Supreme Court begins contempt proceedings because of alleged jury tampering during trial of Messrs. Sinclair and Fall.

The airplane carrier, *U. S. S. Saratoga*, is commissioned at Camden, N. J.; she accommodates eighty-three planes, and cost \$40,000,000.

November 21.—Police and militia are concentrated to curb a coal mine strike near Denver, Colo.

November 23.—Noble Brandon Judah, of Chicago, is appointed as American Ambassador to Cuba.

November 25.—At Folsom State Prison, California, a jailbreak by 1,200 prisoners is thwarted; 11 men are killed and 33 are wounded.

November 27.—The Census Bureau in the Department of Commerce publishes a 1926 study of financial statistics of 250 municipalities; per capita cost for local government averaged \$39.18 in 1926, compared with \$37.43 in 1925.

November 30.—The Vermont Legislature passes a flood repair appropriation of \$8,500,000.

December 1.—Maj.-Gen. Hanson E. Ely succeeds Maj.-Gen. James H. McRae in command of the Second Corps Area at Governor's Island, N. Y.

December 5.—Rear-Adm. Yates Stirling takes command of the U. S. Asiatic Fleet.

A Texas-New Mexico boundary dispute of long standing is settled by the Supreme Court by adhering to the Rio Grande River line of 1850.

December 7.—Kansas City is chosen for the Republican convention on June 12.

#### FOREIGN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

November 16.—Gen. Juan J. Estrada, Nicaraguan Liberal, is appointed Governor (Jefe Politico) of the Bluefields Department, under the Stimson agreement.

November 17.—At Canton, China, martial law is declared because of riots by the Labor party; Hankow is invested by Southern Nationalists from Nanking; but Nationalists are reported in defeat near Mingkwang, on the Tientsin-Pukow Railway.

November 18.—Mulai Mohammed, third son of the late Mulai Youssef, is chosen Sultan of Morocco.

November 24-28.—Vintila Bratianu is chosen as Premier of Rumania, succeeding his deceased brother Jon; he also heads the Liberal party.

December 2.—Frau Olga Rudel-Zeynek takes office as President of the Upper House of the Austrian Government; she is the first woman in the world to hold such office.

December 10.—Gen. Chiang Kai-shek is chosen by the Chinese Nationalists at Shanghai to head the southern movement.

December 11-14.—Canton, China, reports heavy fighting, with Nationalists finally in control; 3,000 are killed, and Communists are driven back.

#### ECONOMIC NOTES

November 15.—Representatives of Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Germany, and Poland, in conference at Paris, agree to restrict sugar production; world consumption in the year beginning October 1, 1926, was 23,562,000 tons. United States consumption is over 6,000,000 tons a year.

November 17.—Brokers' loans at New York increase \$71,586,000 in one week, standing at \$847,091,000 above the figure for last year.

November 24.—M. Lebon reports to the French Technical Conference on Aviation that 7,000,000 pieces of air mail were carried in France in 1927 compared with 200,000 in 1920.

December 1.—The Interstate Commerce Commission removes the 40 per cent. discrimination between Chicago and New York to the South.

December 5.—The Federal Trade Commission reports that 10,245 corporations paid \$6,253,818.026 in stock dividends within the seven years 1920-26; only \$628,002,448 was paid in preceding seven years.

December 6.—The first gold shipment from New York to London since 1914 is \$1,000,000 in coin.

#### INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

November 17.—The Mexican Supreme Court decides in favor of an American oil company in a test case involving the new Mexican petroleum law promulgated under Article XXVII of the new Constitution; an injunction is granted against enforcement of Articles XIV and XV of the law, as contrary to the spirit of the Constitution (i.e., confiscatory).

November 19.—The Russian Soviet delegation to the Geneva Arms Conference is headed by Maxim Litvinoff and includes Anatole Lunachar-



HON. HENRY L. STIMSON, APPOINTED GOVERNOR GENERAL OF THE PHILIPPINES

This eminent New York lawyer was Secretary of War under President Taft and a Colonel of field artillery in the late War. He has studied Philippine matters at first hand and recently secured peace in Nicaragua as Special Ambassador. He was appointed December 13.

sky, Theodore Ougaroff, Gen. Simeon Pougatcheff, and Admiral Behrens.

The International Radio Telegraph Conference approves a report assigning waves of from 30,000 meters to zero for the entire world for fixed, broadcasting, amateur and ship and air services; compulsory arbitration is recognized by vote of 43 to 7.

November 24.—A treaty of defensive alliance is signed between Italy and Albania at Tirana; it runs for twenty years.

November 25.—The International Radio Conference ends with the signature of a convention lasting five years between seventy-nine nations: the new telephonic radio S. O. S. call is "Mayday."

Dr. Jacob Gould Schurman, Ambassador to Germany, returns to New York for the holidays.

November 28.—Ahmed Moukhtar Bey, the new Turkish Ambassador, arrives at Washington.

November 30.—Soviet Russian delegates at the newly opened session of the League Preparatory Disarmament Commission offer a plan for complete abolition of all armies and navies.

December 3.—The League Preparatory Disarmament Commission adjourns to March 15; the Security Commission, under Chairman Benes of Czechoslovakia, adjourns to February 20.

December 4.—Dr. C. C. Wu, Nanking Foreign Minister, protests to the United States against a proposed loan by J. P. Morgan & Co. to Japan for financing the Manchurian Railway.

December 5.—Greece settles her war debt to the United States by a refunding operation providing payment of \$19,659,836 in sixty-two years, at 3 per cent.; a new loan of \$12,167,000 is made.

December 6.—At the White House, President and Mrs. Coolidge entertain Viscount Willingdon, Governor-General of Canada, and the Viscountess.

December 10.—The League Council, acting at Geneva, with Premiers Pilsudski of Poland and Waldemaras of Lithuania present, unanimously adopts a resolution ending the war between the two countries (see page 6).

#### OTHER OCCURRENCES

November 14.—Col. Charles A. Lindbergh receives the Hubbard Medal (held by only seven other men) at the hands of President Coolidge.

November 17.—A tornado damages Washington, D. C.

November 20.—The motor-boat *Fan Tail* makes a speed of sixty miles per hour off Cold Spring Harbor, N. Y., with twenty-four persons aboard.

Eva Le Gallienne, noted actress, receives the *Pictorial Review* award for the most distinctive contribution to the field of arts, letters, science, industry and social progress.

November 29.—The world's chess championship is lost by Jose R. Capablanca to Alexander Alekhine, a Russian, at Buenos Aires.

December 1.—In Algeria, 2,000 lives are lost by floods which damage \$23,580,000 of property.

December 3.—A comet of the second or third magnitude is discovered traveling north toward the sun at Melbourne, Australia, by F. J. Skjellerup.

December 8.—Col. Charles A. Lindbergh receives the Langley medal from the Smithsonian Institution.

December 13-14.—Colonel Lindbergh flies from Washington 2,000 miles to visit President Calles at Mexico City in *The Spirit of St. Louis*.

#### OBITUARY

November 15.—Arthur William Dunn, Washington, D. C., educator and Red Cross official, 59.

November 17.—Mulai Youssef, Sultan of Morocco, 46. . . . Charles Sanger Mellen, railroad expert, 75. . . . Charles Frederick Gurney Masterman, English political journalist, 54. . . . Rev. Joseph Johnstone Muir, D.D., Senate chaplain.

November 18.—Dr. George Washington Brush, G. A. R., noted physician, 85.

November 20.—Maj. James Calvin Hemphill, editor, of South Carolina, 77.

November 21.—Oscar Edward Keller, former Congressman from Minnesota, 49. . . . Prof. Lauritz Tuxen, noted Danish painter, 74.

November 23.—Rt. Rev. Patrick Richard Heffron, Catholic Bishop of Winona, Minn., 67. . . . Stanislaw Przybyszewski, Polish dramatist, 59.

November 24.—Rear-Adm. William Hannum Grubb Bullard, chairman of the Radio Commission, 60. . . . Jon Bratianu, Premier of Rumania, 63. . . . Walter Comstock Hubbard, cotton broker, 76. . . . Robert Cluett, collar manufacturer, 83. . . . Prince Alfred of Windisch-Graetz, former Austrian Premier, 76.

November 25.—Dr. Israel C. White, West Virginia geologist, 79. . . . Dr. Clarence K. Dengler dermatologist, of Philadelphia, 51. . . . Sir Robert Arundell Hudson, British Red Cross official, 64. . . . Ernesto Sousa, Peruvian Cabinet Minister.

November 26.—John Cardinal Bonzano, former Apostolic Delegate to the United States, 60. . . . Yeijiro Ono, Japanese banker, 59. . . . Alfred Clifford, St. Louis steel manufacturer, 82. . . . Admiral Pinto Guedes, of Brazil.

November 27.—Rev. Charles Fletcher Dole, Boston Unitarian, 82.

November 28.—John William Griggs, former Governor and Attorney-General of New Jersey, 78. . . . Frank White, corporation lawyer, 69.

November 29.—Henry Wilson Savage, Boston impresario, 68.

November 30.—Charles Francis Choate, Jr., Boston lawyer, 61. . . . Senor Jorge Roa, Colombian Minister to Spain.

December 1.—Herbert Spencer Hadley, former Governor of Missouri, 55.

December 4.—Adolf Hengelen, German illustrator, 65.

December 6.—William Augustus Patton, Pennsylvania railroad expert, 78.

December 7.—Joseph B. Kealing, Indiana Republican, 68. . . . William B. Prenter, Ohio labor leader, 72.

December 8.—Dr. Max Landsberg, Rochester (N. Y.), clergyman, 82.

December 9.—Thomas Frederick Crane, educator, of Cornell University, 83.

December 10.—Emil Molenhauer, Boston symphony conductor, 72.

December 11.—Nathan Matthews, Boston, politician, 73.



#### WHEN THE SEVENTIETH CONGRESS ASSEMBLED

The Clerk of the House, William Tyler Page (at the right), is here shown handling some of the bills presented in advance by members. The Chief Bill Clerk, H. F. Hunt, is at the left of this group, with his assistant, W. T. Sykes.



# Politics , Congress , Peace

## Cartoon Topics of a New Year



THE SOUTHERN DONKEY DRAWS NEARER

"I don't like his breath, and I don't like his shadow. - But—"

By Morris, in the *Citizen* (Brooklyn, N. Y.)



"ASK THE CALF WHERE WE'RE GOING"

By Thiele, in the *Journal* (Sioux City, Iowa)



ANOTHER CASE OF ANXIOUS WAITING

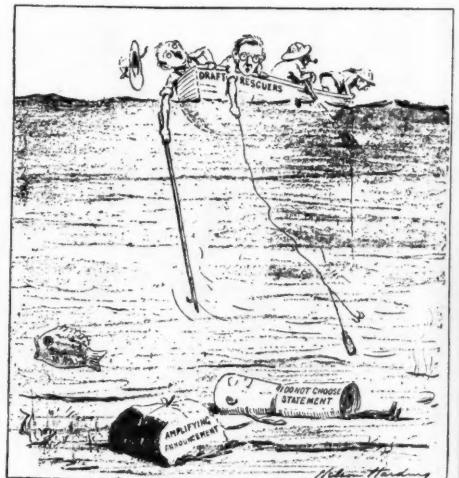
By Shafer, in the *Times-Star* (Cincinnati, Ohio)



GOVERNOR SMITH ADOPTS A NEW METHOD

By Talburt, in the *Telegram* (New York)

CALVIN CLOSES THE DOOR

By McCutcheon, in the *Tribune* © (Chicago, Ill.)

NEVER SAY DIE!

By Harding, in the *Eagle* (Brooklyn, N. Y.)





"YOU NEED IT, AND I'M NOT GOING OUT JUST NOW!"

By Sykes, in the *Evening Post* (New York)

Vice-President Dawes, prominently mentioned as a presidential possibility, has chosen to step aside, in these pre-convention months, in favor of another candidate from his home State of Illinois, former Governor Lowden. In the convention of 1920 Mr. Lowden's name was conspicuous in the voting for President, and in 1924 he was actually named for Vice-President, later declining.



LOOK OUT FOR THE BACK-SEAT DRIVER!

By Reynolds, in the *Oregonian* (Portland, Ore.)



PRISCILLA AND JOHN ALDEN

"Why don't you speak for yourself, Charles?"

By Orr, in the *Tribune* © (Chicago, Ill.)



THE ILLINOIS ALPHONSE

Vice-President Dawes steps aside for Mr. Lowden.

By Berryman, in the *Evening Star* (Washington, D. C.)



IN THE FRONT ROW

By Pease, in the *Evening News* (Newark, N. J.)





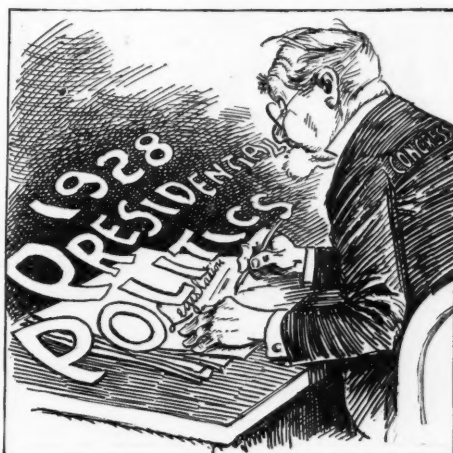
THEY HAVE COME TO SPEND THE WINTER WITH US

By Darling, in the *Herald Tribune* © (New York)



THEY ALL WANT THE SAME THING

By Ireland, in the *Dispatch* (Columbus, Ohio)



HARD TO WORK AT THE REAL JOB

By Morris in the *Citizen* (Brooklyn, N. Y.)

**"HOPE SPRINGS ETERNAL"**By Thiele, in the *Times-Herald* (Middletown, N. Y.)**THE RUSSIAN DOVE OF PEACE**By Sykes, in the *Evening Public Ledger* (Philadelphia, Pa.)

The Preparatory Disarmament Commission of the League of Nations met at Geneva, Switzerland, from November 30 to December 3, and the subject of permanent world peace came to the forefront once more. This conference was made notable by the presence of delegates from Russia, headed by Maxim Litvinoff, Vice-Commissary of Foreign Affairs. On the very first day the Russian plan was offered, in the course of a bitter attack in which the speaker challenged the sincerity of what he termed capitalistic governments whenever they met to discuss disarmament. The Soviet Government would abolish all armies and navies at once.

**THE CHAMPION MONKEY-WRENCH THROWER**By Reid, in the *Capital* (Topeka, Kansas)**ALL THE MAKINGS FOR TROUBLE**By McCutcheon, in the *Tribune* (Chicago, Ill.)

# A Message from President Machado

Responding to the Editor's request, His Excellency, President Machado, transmits the following timely message through the REVIEW OF REVIEWS to all those interested in the forthcoming meeting at Havana of the Sixth Pan-American Conference.

*IN 1902, the Second Pan-American Conference, meeting in the City of Mexico, adopted unanimously and by acclamation a resolution offered on behalf of the American delegation by Mr. Charles M. Pepper, expressing the most sincere sentiments of respect and good-will for the Republic of Cuba, as yet unborn. In that moment of patriotic fervor, the Cubans received with infinite gratitude the message of warm affection from the republics of America.*

*A quarter of a century later, the Republic of Cuba offers her capital as the seat of the Sixth Pan-American Conference, and the representatives of twenty-one nations which will meet on her soil to fulfil their high and worthy mission will find there tranquillity, order, civilization, and progress. Good-will and cordiality will prevail over the spirit of this great international gathering, for which the Cuban setting has been so fittingly prepared by past events and by her geographical situation.*

*From 1902 to 1928 there has been a notable development of Pan-Americanism; American solidarity has taken deeper root; our entire hemisphere, in laboring for the attainment of universal welfare and peace, feels bound together by close ties of interest and by a common tradition. In 1902 Pan-Americanism was as yet mostly a far-off vision of sociologists; to-day it has become the daily labor of statesmen.*

*Situated between the Northern and Southern continents, Cuba constitutes a moral link between them, and her very existence is a proof of the unity of sentiment controlling the nations of America. The daily interrelations of the great American republics afford evidence constant to Cuba that the equality between states does not depend upon the extent of their territory, population, or wealth, but upon respect for the rights of others and the practice of high moral principles.*

*When we received the cordial message which came to us from our sister republics gathered in the capital of Mexico, we had scarcely emerged from the state of a colony; we had a population of slightly more than a million inhabitants; our exports amounted to only sixty-five million dollars, and our national wealth was estimated at less than one billion dollars.*

*To-day we enjoy the benefits of free institutions; we have created our administrative machinery, our judicial organization, our system of representation in foreign countries; we have been honored at one time with the Presidency of the Assembly of the League of Nations; at the present time we have a representative in the Supreme Council of this body; we also have one of the eleven judges of the Court of International Justice at The Hague, and Cuba is being made the seat of numerous international and regional conferences and congresses.*

*Our cities are healthy, so much so that our mortality is among the lowest of all countries. We have created a formidable industry; our foreign commerce per capita is the second in the world. Our population has increased to nearly four millions. We have diminished illiteracy considerably. We have extended our railroad mileage several hundredfold, and increased our exports and imports annually to an average of three hundred and fifty millions and two hundred and fifty millions of dollars, respectively.*

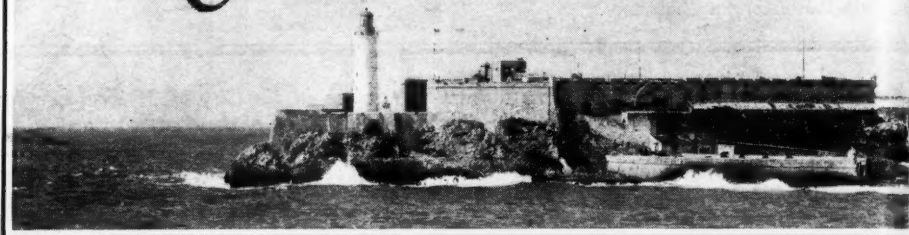
*Our people could not have responded with greater vigor or more successfully to the good wishes which the nations of America expressed.*

*In receiving at the present time the distinguished delegates of the Sixth Pan-American Conference, we extend to them the sincerest and most cordial hospitality; we offer them our fullest cooperation toward the triumph of their common endeavors; we assure them of our firm purpose to contribute to the most complete and sincere harmony among the American nations, and we evidence to them how strongly our spirit is imbued with the ideals of America.*

GERARDO MACHADO,  
President of the Republic of Cuba.

Havana, December 9, 1927.

# Cuba-In Pictures



## PICTURESQUE MORRO CASTLE GUARDS THE BAY OF HAVANA

Havana was founded by the Spaniards in 1515. In 1585 the city was unsuccessfully attacked by Drake and the English, and shortly after this event Morro Castle was built. After several attempts in the eighteenth century the English finally captured Morro Castle in 1762 and remained in control of Havana for a year. However, it was not until the Spanish-American war in 1898 that Spain was finally forced out of the Island and Cuba assumed its own government under the wing of the United States.

*ON January 16 the sixth Pan-American Conference will assemble at Havana, with delegates from twenty-one nations of the western world. The fifth conference met in 1923 at Santiago, Chile, and the fourth in 1910 at Buenos Aires. Since the attention of the whole world will be centered for some weeks at Havana, with President Machado as host and President Coolidge making a formal visit, we present herewith pictorial evidence of stability achieved by the Island Republic. Cubans need no longer explain apologetically that their country has completed only one quarter-century of independence.*



Photograph by Ewing Galloway

## THE PRADO, HAVANA'S WIDE AND BEAUTIFUL BOULEVARD

Life in Cuba's capital centers on this famous street. Beginning at the outer harbor entrance, passing through the older portion of the city, it extends beyond where once the city wall stood and ends in the city's most important park. The newer houses in Havana are generally low and of the Spanish type, relieved by the bright coloring of the walls.





Photograph by Ewing Galloway

#### THE NEW PRESIDENT'S PALACE AT HAVANA

The Government of Cuba is similar in organization to that of the United States. The executive power is vested in a President and Cabinet, and the legislative in a Senate with 24 members and a House of Representatives with 116.



© Publishers Photo Service

#### CATHEDRAL OF COLUMBUS

Work on this building was started in 1656. Here the remains of Columbus rested from 1796 until 1898, when they were removed from Havana to Spain.



© Publishers Photo Service

#### EL TEATRO NACIONAL

Havana's National Theater or opera house, erected in 1838, is one of the largest theaters in the world. Many brilliant performances mark the winter season.



© Publishers Photo Service

#### A COUNTRY ROAD ALONG A TOBACCO PLANTATION

Tobacco is, next to sugar cane, Cuba's most important crop, her tobacco being adapted particularly to high-grade cigars. The line of white appearing in this picture is not a fence rail, but the white cheese-cloth covering under which most of the crop is grown.



#### A FIELD OF PINEAPPLES

One of the many fruits which flourish in Cuba.



Photograph by Ewing Galloway

#### HENEQUEN HEMP

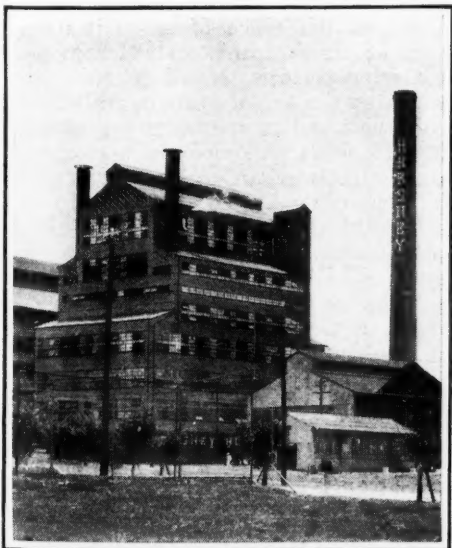
From which the sugar bags are made.

**A FIELD OF SUGAR CANE**

The little island of Cuba produces more than one-third of the world's supply of cane sugar.

**BRINGING IN THE CANE**

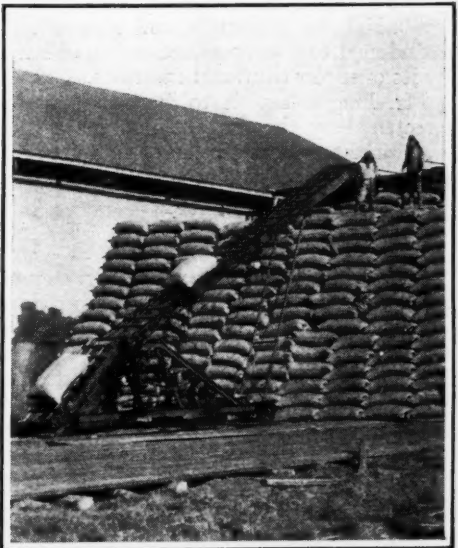
The cane is cut, stripped of its leaves, and carried to the railroad which takes it to the sugar mill.



Photograph by Ewing Galloway

**A SUGAR MILL**

This mill is one of three owned by Mr. M. S. Hershey, of candy fame. A sugar mill is operated by burning the bagasse, or cane fibre which remains after the sweet juice has been extracted, a most economical fuel.



Photograph by Ewing Galloway

**BAGS OF SUGAR**

This temporary storage is at one of the centrals operated by the Cuban Dominican Sugar Company. Cuba's production for 1925-1926 was 3,334,000 short tons, selling at a range from 1.97 to 2.93 cents per pound.

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# Charles Evans Hughes

A PAN-AMERICAN STATESMAN

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BY WILLIAM HARD

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IT IS no easy task to compact into one short narrative and analysis the salient notes of a theme so spacious and so varied as the Latin-American policies of Mr. Charles Evans Hughes. This is particularly so in view of the numerous occasions when his diplomatic philosophy evidenced itself not in action but in quiet and unnoticed refusal of action.

Perhaps a recollection of a certain determined and stubborn inaction of his may cross Mr. Hughes's mind when in January of 1928 he sets foot in Havana as the Chief of the Delegation of the United States to the Sixth International Conference of American States. He will be gazing at a country which in 1923, when he was Secretary of State of the United States, he was vigorously and vehemently implored to rescue from its difficulties by armed force, but which he resolutely and successfully abandoned to a triumphant rescue of itself by its own constitutional exertions.

Mr. Hughes's visit to Havana may be sweetened by the thought that his avoidance of the rôle of conqueror in 1923 now adds only sharper point and heavier force to his rôle of counselor in 1928.

## *A Gloomy Inheritance*

When Mr. Hughes became Secretary of State in 1921 there were American marines on duty in four Latin-American countries: Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Haiti, Nicaragua. Mr. Hughes thus inherited a vast outspread of American military might abroad. Never before in our history had the flag of the United States been seen flying over our encamped troops in so many foreign lands at the same moment.

Mr. Hughes also inherited a sullen—and, indeed, almost savage—estrangement from Mexico. The Wilson Administration had been obliged in its considered opinion to contemplate and to intimate a prospective possible military occupation of Mexican

territory. Implored the Mexican Government to safeguard American interests in Mexico, it had passed on to anticipating the doing of that safeguarding itself. It had stated to the Mexican Government:

"It becomes the function of the Government of the United States most earnestly and respectfully to call the attention of the Mexican Government to the necessity which may arise to impel it to protect the property of its citizens in Mexico which may have been divested or injuriously affected."

Mr. Hughes, accordingly, when he was inducted into office in the State Department, was not able to proceed to write on a blank page. The page before him was crowded thickly with the records of drastic diplomatic and military deeds, accomplished or impending.

Within the space of approximately a year he struck two notes which to some contemporary ears seemed discordant, but which to the ear of posterity will be the congruous and complementary symbols of Mr. Hughes's philosophy of statecraft in the Latin-American region of the special influence of the United States.

Toward Mexico he adopted, on a certain point, an attitude unbending and unbreakable. He said:

"The fundamental question which confronts the Government of the United States in considering its relations with Mexico is the safeguarding of property rights against confiscation. Mexico is free to adopt any policy which she pleases with respect to her public lands, but she is not free to destroy without compensation valid titles which have been obtained by American citizens under Mexican laws."

Such was his determination toward Mexico. It was called "harsh." It was called "imperialistic." No epithets ever induced him to swerve from it. It was a continuous note in his diplomacy. Before



exploring its nature, we may well listen, however, to the simultaneous note which was thought to be its contrast, its opposite.

Mr. Hughes entered into conversations with leading representatives of the Dominican Republic. He reached with them a perfected agreement. A Dominican provisional government would be installed. It would prepare the way for a permanent Dominican constitutional government. The American military government, which had held sway all over the Dominican Republic since 1916, would be shorn of all executive power. Its functions would be restricted to those of advice. The American military forces would be concentrated into three spots for mere observation. The maintaining of order would be entrusted to a Dominican national police force. The final installation of the permanent Dominican constitutional government would be followed by the final departure of the American forces of so-called "invasion."

#### *The Evacuation of Santo Domingo*

Such was the promise. It was kept. More than two years of preliminary and troubled readjustment elapsed, but in July of 1924 the constitutionally elected President of the Dominican Republic, Don Horacio Vasquez, was inaugurated; the American flag on the fort in Santo Domingo was hauled down; the Dominican flag was run up; and the American Admiral who had served in Santo Domingo as the alleged "pro-consul" of a "conquered province" took ship, with all his armed followers, and sailed to quarters on the shores of the retreating and abdicating "Colossus of the North."

It would be a windfall for the European journalistic beraters of the Latin-American "imperialism" of the United States if they could put on record in their columns some one similar act of retreat and of abdication by some one great European power.

But why did Mr. Hughes retreat from Santo Domingo and abdicate on our behalf from the governing of it? As he has pointed out, there was no compulsion upon us to depart. Not all the world could have physically extruded us from Santo Domingo. We departed for a reason not physical.

It is a reason which appears and reappears with steady and accumulating iteration throughout the whole of Mr. Hughes's incumbency of the office of Secretary of State. Santo Domingo had arrived

at the moral and political condition which seemed to prophesy its capacity to establish and to maintain, by Dominican unhindered and unaided effort, a government based on the principles of peaceful constitutionalism. At the very instant of the reaching of that point in Dominican development Mr. Hughes initiated—and presently consummated—American evacuation.

It is hardly surprising that Dominicans should take pleasure now in the appointment of Mr. Hughes to represent the United States at the Sixth International Conference of American States. They interpret American purpose in terms of Mr. Hughes's personality. Their Minister at Washington, Señor Angel Morales, states to this writer:

"In my opinion the presence of Mr. Charles Evans Hughes in Havana, at the head of the United States delegation, will be a bright re-affirmation of the friendly sentiments of the great democracy of the North toward Latin America. I consider that the idea of Pan-Americanism will always receive all just and eager sympathy in the spirit of Mr. Hughes."

Now the sum of Mr. Hughes's Dominican policy, as has been indicated, was that at the very first feasible moment he abolished in the Dominican Republic the reign of external force in favor of the reign of internal legality. But legality, we must note, is a conception applicable not only to the inward life of states but to their outward life as well. The duty which a state may owe to itself does not abolish the duty which it owes to other states. Zealous to promote internal legality for the Dominican Republic, Mr. Hughes was equally zealous to request and require external legality from Mexico.

#### *Establishing Law with Mexico*

His Mexican policy and his Dominican policy were but two phases of the same passion for a régime of law. Mexico, by law, by the law of nations, owed to aliens on Mexican soil, in Mr. Hughes's view, certain acts of protection and of assurance. Reestablishing law in the relations of Dominicans among themselves, Mr. Hughes was pledged by conscience likewise to the reestablishing of law in the relations between Washington and Mexico City.

It seemed to be reestablished quite thoroughly by the agreement reached in 1923 between Charles Beecher Warren and John Barton Payne, representing the Ameri-

can Government, on the one hand, and Ramon Ross and Fernando Gonzalez Roa, representing the Mexican Government, on the other.

This agreement included phases which, in view of the charges sometimes made against the "greedy" and "grasping" character of the Great Republic of the North, seem almost whimsical in their softness. Mexico promised essentially nothing for the future except, in principle, and in reserved language, to grant to Americans in Mexico the rights laid down on behalf of aliens in every authoritative international-law text-book. In return, all past expropriations of American properties in Mexico by Mexican authorities were sent to the arbitrament, not of punitive expeditions by the Marine Corps, and not of courts-martial by invading and occupying Admirals and Generals, but of judgments to be rendered by freshly erected courts of pacific—and protracted—law.

Expropriations, in a multitude of instances, were frankly admitted. The agreement of 1923 itself admitted them and provided for their occurrence. The Mexican authorities have been in the habit, and will continue to be in the habit, of taking land from Americans in Mexico and of giving it to Mexicans for the social and agricultural betterment of the Mexican people.

Mr. Hughes never for a moment denied to the Mexican Government its full and complete right to change and improve its social system by enforced transfers of property within its borders. He never for a moment denied to the Mexican Government its right to expropriate. He denied only its right to confiscate. He claimed only that expropriation must be followed by compensation; and he proved that this narrow claim was his only actual final claim when he willingly accepted the erection and the jurisdiction of the Mexican-American General Mixed Claims Commission.

Millions of acres of Mexican lands, once owned by Americans but now forcibly (and presumably beneficently) transferred to Mexicans, lie upon the unfinished business of that commission in the Investment Building in Washington. The years go by. The judgments come slowly. The payments, in certain circumstances, if they are ever reached, will not be in cash. They will be in Mexican bonds.

The Mexican Government was just recently quite unable to meet an interest

payment due to the Committee of Foreign Holders of Mexican Bonds. Nevertheless there are many of our claimants against Mexico whose compensation for expropriation by the Mexican authorities is likely to be in Mexican bonds of that same color of unavoidably delayed value.

Such is the "ruthlessness" with which Mexican treatment of American property in Mexico is being in actual practice revenged. It has been a policy of vigorous remonstrance, followed by patient arbitration, followed—in turn—by deferred (very deferred) payments.

For Mr. Hughes, however, the vital point had been won. Mexico had acknowledged her international obligations. Mr. Hughes was not looking for instant pounds of flesh. He was looking for the acknowledgment of permanent principles.

#### *Obregon's Government Recognized*

He had received that acknowledgment. He proceeded to recognize the Mexican Obregon Government as a full member of the family of nations. He proceeded also to recognize it as a government of constitutional origin and of constitutional authority. Charged as it was with leanings toward "radicalism," detested as it was by numerous powerful and influential American interests in Mexico, Mr. Hughes proceeded to find in it, because of its constitutional character, an agency for the further up-building and strengthening of Latin-American constitutionalism in general.

It was for that reason that he subsequently furnished to the Obregon Government in Mexico the munitions which it needed for the suppression of an unconstitutional revolt against its rule. The wisdom of his policy on that occasion was much questioned. One assertion about it can be securely made. It evidenced a total willingness to overlook all commercial considerations, all quarrels about property, all disputes about dollars, in favor of action which was thought to be likely to accelerate and to consolidate the approach and the retention of the era of constitutionalism, of legality, of peace, in Latin-American countries.

This sacrifice of economic controversy to political governmental pacific principle brought to a close the main chapter of Mr. Hughes's dealings with Mexico. In the total volume of all his policies it was this chapter that most especially raised up for

him a large crop of critics at home who thought his diplomacy toward Mexico "undiplomatic" and "unsympathetic." The Mexican Ambassador to the United States, Señor Manuel Tellez, is perhaps a more authoritative exponent of Mexican feelings. He has stated to the author of this article:

"After Mr. Hughes had recognized Mexico he wholeheartedly cooperated in our mutual diplomatic endeavor to bring the relationship between the two countries to a better and more solid standing. Though he could never quite get away from looking at Latin-American relations from a strictly legal point of view, he was one of the broadest-minded Secretaries of State I have known. He did a great deal to strengthen the ties between the United States and Latin America; and the Mexican people look upon him as a real friend."

Aiding constitutionalism and reprehending warfare in Mexico, Mr. Hughes pursued those same principles southward into Central America. In December of 1922 he convened at Washington an historic conference of the five Central American powers.

Mr. Hughes thoroughly appreciated the peculiar importance to the United States of the Central American area. He is a doctor of the law but he really escapes, much oftener than some observers think, from being a doctrinaire of the law. His legalism, when he was Secretary of State, was a thing that suffered expansions and contractions in conformity to geographical facts.

#### *Regarding South America*

Constitutionalism in Bolivia, for instance, he might indeed desire as a jurist and as a well-wisher to the human race. As Secretary of State of the United States, however, he made no issue of the circumstance that President Bautista Saavedra had come into power through having been the successful leader of a revolutionary armed rising.

In all of South America, indeed, Mr. Hughes contracted and circumscribed both his legalism and his leadership.

It is true that he performed great labors of attempted service to certain South American problems. It is true that he expended large quantities of time and of energy on trying to accomplish a meeting of minds between Brazil and Colombia and Peru regarding a long and wide block of watery disputed territory in the upper valley of the Amazon. It is true that he toiled intensely to accomplish a similar

meeting of minds between Peru and Chile regarding Tacna-Arica.

In such efforts, however, he was acting only as what the diplomats sometimes call a "friendly compositor." He was exhibiting only the interest which any statesman of sensibility, and any country of sensibility, must have in a happy solution of any international difficulty on a neighboring continent. He was offering a requested service; but he was not claiming, in the valley of the Amazon or on the boundary-line between Chile and Peru, any right of initiative for the United States; nor was he accepting, on behalf of the United States, in those regions, any responsibility for the maintenance of any settlements that might be effected.

In fact, in the case of Tacna-Arica, the appointment of the President of the United States to be the arbitrator of the meaning of the Treaty of Ancon was far indeed from being the result of any intention by Mr. Hughes to penetrate South America with North American diplomatic influence. It was the result—totally contrariwise—of determined insistence by Peru and Chile themselves.

#### *Taking the Monroe Doctrine Straight*

It is appropriate accordingly at this point to say that Mr. Hughes is separated by an impassable gulf from those North Americans who spin the Monroe Doctrine out into a web of sophistical asserted suzerainty over the western hemisphere. Mr. Hughes has always taken his Monroe Doctrine straight, without any modernistic condiments or embellishments. He has taken it as James Monroe uttered it. He has taken it simply and solely as an assertion by the United States of its individual purpose to resist all European aggression and all European aggrandizement on this side of the Atlantic. He has not taken it as an assertion of any purpose or of any theory whatsoever on the subject of the relations of the countries of the Americas among themselves. He has emphatically and unequivocally declared:

"I utterly disclaim, as unwarranted, the observations which occasionally have been made implying a claim on our part to superintend the affairs of our sister republics, to assert an overlordship, to consider the spread of our authority beyond our own domain as the aim of our policy, and to make our power the test of right in this hemisphere. I oppose all such mis-

conceived and unsound assertions or intimations. They do not express our national purpose; they are false to the fundamental principles of our institutions; and they find no sanction whatever in the Monroe Doctrine."

It can be safely stated, therefore, that the fantastic idea of an American hemisphere ruled by the fiat of the District of Columbia has never found the slightest cranny of lodgment in Mr. Hughes's mind and will receive from him no favoring impulse of any kind—either in theory or in practice—in the deliberations and conclusions of the conference at Havana.

In South America, in fact, Mr. Hughes surrendered our one clear intrusive privilege. Brazil for some twenty years had granted to us certain preferential tariff rates. Mr. Hughes, in January of 1923, conveyed to the Brazilian Government our desire to abandon this concession. Notes to that effect were interchanged; and we began to pay at the Brazilian customs-houses the same duties paid by other foreign countries.

In South America in general Mr. Hughes could and did act as the friend of all and the recipient and guarantor of nothing. Further northward the situation was changed for him by a geographical fact of decisive momentousness. Mr. Hughes's legalism, whether as extreme as his critics declare or as moderate as his admirers maintain, did not blink the fact of the Panama Canal, nor did it blink the fact of the canal route through Nicaragua.

#### *Leadership in Central America*

Constitutional stability in Bolivia or Ecuador or Peru or Chile might be the object of a pious wish by the United States. Constitutional stability, electoral orderliness, internal and external peace, in the environs of canals forming an integral part of the American commercial coast-line could not fail to be for the United States an object of practical interest and of definite endeavor.

In Central America, therefore, Mr. Hughes faced—and he took up—a rôle of outright responsibility for initiative and for leadership and a rôle of responsibility also for a certain moral guardianship of the results that might be reached.

It happened that in 1922 the Central American powers, instead of progressing toward peace, were being thrown back toward the brink of war. The Central

American peace treaty of 1907 had lost its restraining force. Revolutionary elements in any one state in Central America were finding solace and support in other states in Central America. The prospect grew that the whole Central American scene might soon be one of a many-sided and almost promiscuous conflict of estranged governments and of enraged political parties falling upon one another in a warfare at once civil and international.

#### *Saving a Conference*

In these circumstances Mr. Hughes promoted first a conference of the Presidents of Nicaragua and of Salvador and of Honduras on the deck of the U. S. S. *Tacoma* in the waters of Fonseca Bay, and then a conference of diplomatic representatives of Nicaragua and of Salvador and of Honduras and of Guatemala and of Costa Rica in the city of Washington. This latter conference lasted some two months. Mr. Hughes was chosen by the delegates to preside over it. He cast no vote. He merely presided and moderated and accommodated and facilitated.

His most characteristic remarks as chairman were, for example, the following:

"Whatever you wish will be done." And:

"So far as the chairman is concerned, he has no personal desire to interpose with respect to one or the other suggestion." And:

"My only desire is to aid you by bringing out the different points which seem to be involved in the discussion."

There was never in the air a single vibration of any thought of coercive pressure by the United States. There was never a single yielding on Mr. Hughes's part to any temptation toward exceeding the limits of a leadership of impartial analysis and of constructive statement of the problems discussed. Yet, within those limits and acting always as a pilot under employment and never as a captain in command, Mr. Hughes saved the conference from being wrecked by its inevitable dissensions and brought it into a harbor of calm success.

It was perhaps his greatest personal triumph as Secretary of State. In the Conference on the Limitation of Naval Armaments he had ships to sink, he had naval power to surrender, in return for the plaudits of the delegates from abroad. In the Central American Conference he had no comparable leverage. His weapons in the



Central American Conference were solely his mentality and the trust which the delegates reposed in his character.

Controversies among the delegates resulted at one time in the resignations of the delegates from Costa Rica. Prophecies were freely made that the conference was going aground on reefs from which it could never be rescued. That it escaped them and at last made port with a cargo of eleven "conventions," two "protocols," one "treaty," and one "declaration" is attributed by an almost unanimous Latin-American sentiment to the qualities of Mr. Hughes even more than to the desperate needs of the Central American situation.

Mr. Hughes's demeanor during the conference was aptly described by a Washington wit, who said:

"Mr. Hughes never lets his dignity get thawed or his geniality get frozen."

Latin-Americans often, in speaking of what we North Americans call Mr. Hughes's dignity, refer to it as "austerity." It is, in a way, a better word for it. It is a word which includes within its meaning not only a mode of appearance but a mode of inner life. Control over the appetites, mastery of one's own purposes, a habit of aloofness not only from questionable conduct but from questionable conversation, a certain moral unapproachableness: these things in Mr. Hughes are the accompaniments of an "austerity" which is undeniable and which has secured for him, among his Latin-American acquaintances, a moral respect which at Havana will be his first and foremost asset.

His geniality, which is equally undeniable, relieves his "austerity" not of its impressiveness but only of all possible forbiddingness. His smile is ready and ruddy and aboundingly healthy. It is a smile not so much of humor as of good humor. It breaks easily into a laughter which seems to be caused as much by physical exuberance as by mental delight. On a bright morning, walking down Connecticut Avenue, Mr. Hughes seems to be able to laugh at the thrill of the day much as a dog might bark at it.

At the age of sixty-five he seems to have the resilient arteries and the instantaneously discharging nerves of a youth. He has been "austere" in the preservation of his gaiety. Finding that tobacco was a slight depressant to him, he abruptly and totally and permanently abandoned the use

of it. He has sown many sacrifices of enjoyment. He has reaped an enjoyment which covers his "austerity" with a glow to which advancing years give only more and more warmth.

Yet the "austerity" abides. Mr. Hughes's smile and his inward will are like a rainbow across a glacier.

At the conclusion of the Central American Conference the senior delegate of Guatemala, Señor Francisco Sanchez Latour, publicly expressed to Mr. Hughes "our eternal gratitude for the exquisite courtesy and goodness which he has demonstrated toward us on every opportunity"; and the senior delegate of Honduras, Señor Alberto Ucles, publicly declared that Mr. Hughes's "impartiality and justice can never be made the subject of criticism."

#### *A Commendable Personality*

"Courtesy" and "justice." Latin-Americans demand both those qualities in their North American friends and they find them uniquely combined in the manner and temper of Mr. Hughes.

At a recent dinner in Washington, given by the Minister of Salvador to the United States, Señor Francisco A. Lima, there was present Señor J. Gustavo Guerrero, of Salvador, who was a delegate to the Central American Conference of 1922-23, who has since gained great fame in the European world as the representative of Salvador in the Council of the League of Nations, and who is now Salvador's Minister for Foreign Affairs. Well known to entertain views thoroughly inharmonious with any physical or financial or moral subjugation of Latin-America by the United States, he signalized his speech at Señor Lima's dinner by a tribute to Mr. Hughes as unreserved as it was eloquent, ending with declaring that "all of Latin-America, because of the work that Mr. Hughes has accomplished in the past and because of his prestige among us, looks upon his promised presence at the conference at Havana as a happy and sure augury of the furtherance of the cause of Pan-Americanism."

The "General Treaty of Peace and Amity" which the five Central American powers signed in Washington in the presiding presence of Mr. Hughes on February 7, 1923, has indubitably been at least an influential factor in the maintenance of the international peace which has reigned in Central America since that time. It pledged

all five Central American powers to send all unresolved difficulties which might arise among them to certain new International Commissions of Inquiry or to a certain newly erected International Central American Tribunal. It also contained provisions pledging each Central American country never to recognize a President of any other Central American country unless he came into office with no taint upon him of complicity in any "revolution or *coup d'état*."

#### *The Promotion of Stable Government*

These latter provisions have encountered many skeptics, including humbly but stubbornly the present writer. To require continuous constitutionalism and a complete exile of the bullet in favor of the ballot in all Central American countries has seemed to many unadventurous observers to be an excessively sudden wrenching of Central American habits and customs. To Mr. Hughes, however, as formerly to Mr. Elihu Root, when Mr. Root was Secretary of State, it seemed that the promotion of constitutional stable governments within the Central American states was absolutely necessary to the secure and permanent establishment of international peace among them. Internal constitutionalism was felt to be the condition precedent to external pacifism.

In any case, in Central America as in Mexico and as in the Dominican Republic, Mr. Hughes pursued a diplomacy in which constitutionalism was the recurrent over-tone. He stressed it when, in 1924, he issued the announcement of the impending withdrawal of our Marines from Nicaragua.

He considered that the elections of 1924 in Nicaragua should produce a constitutional Nicaraguan Government capable of standing without assistance. That Government, as soon as it was inducted into office, demanded that our Marines be permitted to stay. Mr. Hughes modified his decision and consented to their staying for a few months longer. At the end of that period of grace, wisely or unwisely, but punctually and completely, they departed.

We had already, in 1922, summoned home our Marines from Cuba.

Under Mr. Hughes, accordingly, we welcomed back our armed forces from three of the four Latin-American countries in which Mr. Hughes, on becoming Secretary of State, had found them. Mr. Hughes can safely be said to have evacuated more Latin-

American countries than any other Secretary of State in our history.

One Latin-American country—Haiti—remained occupied. Mr. Hughes's record eliminated all possible suspicion of insincerity from the statement he made about Haiti to a radio audience in January of 1925. He said:

"In Haiti we are only waiting to see a reasonable promise of internal peace and stability to effect our withdrawal."

Thus was illustrated—by Mr. Hughes—the "relentless onward march" of the "American imperialistic juggernaut." Under Mr. Hughes's urging it marched onward like a homing crab.

In the case of Cuba not even the most earnest solicitations and importunities could persuade it, under Mr. Hughes's management, to leave home at all. Yet the situation in Cuba was both financially and politically an outright beckoning to intervention.

#### *Mr. Hughes and Cuba*

American interests in Cuba felt themselves deeply aggrieved by a new law which seemed to prevent them from sending their sugar to seaboard on their own railway tracks and which seemed to concentrate a large part of the whole sugar traffic of Cuba onto a railway line in which it was charged that the Cuban statesman who was the author of the new law was heavily interested. Cries of "confiscation" were raised by Americans in Cuba and carried on powerful wings to the ears of Washington.

Revolutionary disturbances were in the meantime prepared and presented to the public view and to the general public alarm on Cuban soil. The State Department at Washington was pressed from quarters of the highest responsibility and influence to take advantage of the Platt Amendment in our treaty with Cuba and to intervene in Cuba for the protection of property and of life.

Mr. Hughes not only refused to intervene but, on behalf of the constitutional government of Cuba, which had been noted for its anti-American press-campaigns, he embargoed and prevented the exportation of munitions from the United States to the Cuban revolutionary elements.

If Mr. Hughes had intervened, and if our Marines were still in Cuba, the Cuban Government to-day would not be getting ready, as a sovereign host and as an inde-

pendent international political entity, to welcome the Sixth International Conference of American States to Havana. It is with reason that the Cuban Ambassador to the United States, Señor Orestes Ferrara, says:

"The appointment as President of the American delegation to the Havana Conference of Charles Evans Hughes, most illustrious in his conduct of American affairs, is an honor for which all Cubans are grateful."

Cuba was—and is—in the area of Mr. Hughes's gravest and greatest determinations. Mexico and Tacna-Arica gave him his largest meed of contemporary notice. His share in the development of our Central American and Caribbean policy will give him his loftiest historical eminence.

The arch that supports the security of our national future is not land but liquid. It is composed of the stretches of water that run between the islands of the West Indies and that run and shall run across Central America from ocean to ocean. To make that arch safe we might in that region have permitted ourselves to be driven on toward a policy of conquest and of permanent acquisition in the name of national necessity.

Mr. Hughes, precisely because of that

legalism with which he is not infrequently reproached, adopted and pursued and strengthened a policy which without doubt will in time take us out of Haiti and also once more out of Nicaragua and which will enable the citizens of this new Rome to say what the citizens of the old Rome could never say:

"We come but to depart. We occupy but to retire. We arrive not to give you our law but to enable you to give yourselves your own law. We disappear when your own law is established among you. We are consulting our interest. We are consulting it on a theory of utter confidence in you. Your arrived stability will be, in our judgment, our sufficient security."

In other words, this diplomat of legalism, this diplomat of constitutionalism, is in the end a diplomat of the deepest human psychology. He gave to the Latin-Americans his trust in their self-governing constitutional future. They have given to him in return a trust in his character that makes his approaching official visit to Havana, in the dominant opinion of all Latin-America, the greatest opportunity for the expansion of the spirit of Pan-American fraternalism that any American statesman has ever had.

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## Cuba: A Thirty-Years' Contrast

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THIRTY years ago, in the early months of 1898, the attention of the whole world was focused upon Cuba, a famous but unhappy island in the West Indies, one of the last remaining fragments of Spain's empire in the Americas. For centuries the chief object of Europe in colonial administration had been the derivation of advantage to the ruling country.

The helping hand of a friendly and powerful neighbor turned the scales at the end of a three years' struggle for independence. But aid without measure, and subsequent guidance beyond imagination, could not have accomplished transforming results, had it not been for qualities in the Cubans themselves that have enabled them to measure up to standards set by nations and peoples already firmly established.

No other spot in the world, surely, can show transformation more complete or progress more convincing. Let us marshal a few of the exhibits.

A Cuban sugar crop of 300,000 to 800,000 tons under Spanish rule had grown to more than 5,000,000 tons in 1927, the twenty-fifth year of independence. (And yet the Spanish administrators, conscious that they had not subjugated the people, thought they were making the most of its soil!) Exports of \$30,000,000 in 1898 had grown to \$350,000,000 by 1926. National revenues of \$38,000,000 in 1913 had become \$85,000,000, with an annual surplus in the treasury. A population of one and a half million in 1899 had more than doubled itself. Thirty-two hundred miles of railroad now serve the island, which is 730 miles long and

an average of 50 miles wide with an area about equal to that of the State of Ohio or Virginia or Mississippi.

An elaborate central highway system was begun a year ago, which will extend the length of the island. This will require ten years for completion, at an estimated cost of \$56,000,000.

If one fears that he may become misled by comparisons of material prosperity only, there are other phases of progress in Cuba which bear relating. A focus of endemic yellow-fever, small-pox, and dysentery has been metamorphosed, literally, into a health resort. Education, developed under American supervision, is free and compulsory for all persons between the ages of six and eighteen, with the result that enrollment in the public schools now totals nearly 300,000 or one-tenth of the entire population. Each province maintains an institute for advanced education and a normal school. The University of Havana, founded two hundred years ago and reorganized in 1923, has 4,000 pupils. The Pan-American Conference is to hold its sessions in the University's new buildings.

Large areas in the United States have learned through checkered experience that a one-crop agriculture may yield disastrous results in a single year; witness the experience of the corn farmer of the Middle West and the cotton planter of the South. In like manner the sugar planter of Cuba came close to ruin seven years ago. The price for his crop had risen from a normal during the World War of 5 cents a pound to 20 cents in 1920, and then it dropped precipitately to less than 2 cents in 1921. Many Cuban sugar estates passed into strangers' hands. A moratorium was declared, fifty million dollars were loaned by Uncle Sam, and the financial crisis had passed before the close of 1923.

Another severe blow to Cuban progress and prosperity was the hurricane of October, 1926. If Florida had escaped the hurricane of September, in that same year, all the world would have known the real extent of the subsequent disaster in Cuba. But so much publicity has spent itself upon the earlier storm that the true nature of Cuba's affliction has never been fully appreciated by the outside world.

In reciting Cuban progress it should be mentioned, of course, that American capital has gone into the island in large sums, so that now fifteen hundred million dollars are invested there, largely in the sugar industry. Similarly, Uncle Sam's protection has made it possible for Cuba to avoid large expenditures for defense. Naval rivalries that occupy statesmen and taxpayers elsewhere have no disturbing influence upon the Cuban mind.

It is the proud boast of some countries that they can produce all the things they need. Others might be able to consume all the food products and raw materials that they can raise, without worrying about what to do with a surplus. Cuba does neither thing. It exports all but a little of what it produces, and imports nearly everything that it consumes. Eighty per cent. of its sugar is shipped to the United States, with which there is a preferential tariff arrangement. The fact that three million people, counting babes in arms and the aged, produce five million tons of sugar is one of the wonders of the world. Tobacco products are also exported to the extent of \$80,000,000 in a year.

When Cuba sells its products advantageously it becomes a good customer as well, and the recent increase in its foreign trade is little short of phenomenal. In 1914 it bought and sold abroad to the extent of \$300,000,000. Ten years later the figure was \$725,000,000. The "favorable" balance—excess of sales over purchases—often exceeds \$100,000,000.

This, then, is the forlorn little island of thirty years ago, down-trodden, starving, plague-stricken, waging stubborn but deadlocked warfare against an oppressor. Would its most devoted admirer, its most fanciful dreamer, have believed that in a single generation the Cuban Republic would be welcoming a score of the nations of the western hemisphere in its own capital, to discuss matters of import to the whole world? Marvels of inventive genius in the same period, even the airplane and the wireless telephone, vast though their influence may be, cannot overshadow this transformation of a whole people from oppression and poverty to liberty and prosperity.





# Our Latin-American Investment

BY FRANCIS H. SISSON

Vice-President of the Guaranty Trust Company of New York

**M**UTUALITY of interest between the United States and Latin America is impressively emphasized by a study of the figures reflecting their financial and commercial relations in the light of the values these figures reveal, it seems inconceivable that any extraneous considerations should be allowed to disturb a situation so obviously to the advantage of the parties concerned.

The position of this country to-day, with surplus capital and surplus production seeking foreign markets, makes the expansion of Latin-American trade a necessity to its maintenance. Latin America in turn needs our capital and our markets. Thus the factors cementing our interests are so much more important than any which might divide them that no course is rational for either party unless it will result in furthering that desired understanding and coöperation.

American statesmen, financiers, and manufacturers with vision have caught glimpses of the opportunities this situation offers for years, but what has been realized in the way of a mutually profitable relationship is only a fraction of what is in store.

## Our Largest Field for Investment

In spite of the many difficulties which have been faced, which need not be detailed here, we find that to-day the United States has invested more capital in Latin-American countries than in any other part of the world. Foreign investments of the United States at the end of 1926 are estimated as follows:

Latin America.....	\$4,500,000,000
Europe.....	3,010,000,000
Canada and Newfoundland.....	2,801,000,000
Other countries.....	904,000,000
Total.....	\$11,215,000,000

In the first ten months of 1927, loans to Latin America continued in large volume,

but were somewhat smaller than loans to Europe. The comparison is as follows:

Latin America.....	\$375,400,000
Europe.....	508,000,000
Canada.....	286,000,000
Other countries.....	149,300,000
	<u>\$1,318,700,000</u>

A detailed statement of loans to Latin-American countries in the first nine months of 1927 shows a total of \$326,795,800, of which \$282,285,800 represents new capital and \$44,510,000 refunding issues. The various items compare as follows:

	New	Refunding	Total
Governmental.....	\$235,550,800	\$5,000,000	\$240,550,800
Corporate.....	46,735,000	39,510,000	86,245,000
Total.....	<u>\$282,285,800</u>	<u>\$44,510,000</u>	<u>\$326,795,800</u>

By far the largest part of these issue consists of sinking-fund gold bonds. The amounts represented by the different types of securities are as follows:

Sinking-fund gold bonds.....	\$191,001,500
Secured Government gold bonds..	3,000,000
Sinking-fund bonds	
in foreign currency.....	883,300
Other Government bonds.....	45,885,000
Treasury notes.....	2,781,000
Corporation mortgage bonds.....	13,790,000
Other corporation bonds.....	20,275,000
Corporation gold notes.....	2,000,000
Preferred stock.....	1,500,000
Common stock.....	1,170,000
	<u>\$282,285,800</u>

The interest rates on these issues range from  $4\frac{1}{2}$  to 8 per cent. and the terms from six months to forty years. The majority, however, are long-term issues, running ten years or more.

The above figures cover only securities publicly offered—that is, distributed to investors through investment bankers and bond dealers by means of public subscription, in the same manner as the majority of

domestic issues. In addition to these, some foreign securities are sold directly to individual investors and are never publicly advertised, while in other cases American firms and individuals make so-called "direct" investments abroad. Capital invested by an American meat-packing company in a new packing plant in the Argentine Republic would be an example of a "direct" investment.

The amount of such investments can be estimated only roughly. The Department of Commerce reports transactions involving direct investment, private credits or purchase of blocks of foreign-capital issues in the first nine months of 1927 amounting to \$185,000,000, or about 17½ per cent. of the amount of securities publicly offered. If Latin America is represented in these transactions in the same proportion as in the public offerings, the amount of capital invested there during the first three-quarters of 1927 should be increased by \$57,000,000, making a total of some \$384,000,000, instead of the \$326,795,800 shown above.

#### *The Importance of Cuba*

The investment of United States capital, in Latin America, as in other countries has increased rapidly during the war and post-war period. At the present time the total capital investment of the United States in Latin-American countries is probably somewhere between \$4,500,000,000 and \$5,000,000,000. It is estimated that this amount is divided about equally among the three major divisions, roughly \$1,500,000,000 being invested in Cuba, the same amount in Mexico and Central America, and a similar sum in South America. In the latter region, the investment of United States capital before the war totaled only about \$100,000,000. The major portion of American capital invested in Cuba is employed in the sugar industry, while in Mexico the petroleum industry is the most important field of American enterprise.

#### *Trade That Follows Investment*

Hand-in-hand with this growth in the volume of capital investments has come a remarkable expansion in foreign trade, together with a marked improvement in means of transportation and communication, a systematic and intelligent effort on the part of American business men to expand their Latin-American trade and a rapid growth of American banking facilities.

The Panama Canal alone is sufficient to account for a large part of the development in our commercial relations, particularly with South America, during the last fifteen years. Perhaps an equally important influence is the disruption of European industry due to the World War. The war also contributed indirectly to our foreign-trade expansion, first, by bringing about an abnormally rapid growth in the productive capacity of many of our leading industries, and thus forcing our business men to seek new markets abroad; and, second, by placing at the disposal of our shipping interests a large number of swift and modern vessels, originally designed for the transportation of troops and munitions of war. In consequence, American ships now operate to every leading port in South America, while the running time from New York to Buenos Aires has been reduced to eighteen days and that from New York to Valparaiso to twenty days.

Another important influence contributing to our success in Latin-American markets is the improvement in cable facilities. Since 1913 American-owned cables to Latin America have increased from 14,000 to 24,000 miles, the latter figure being nearly equal to the mileage of European cables, which has remained about the same during this period.

#### *Learning How and What to Ship*

An evidence of the increased demand for systematic trade promotion is seen in the fact that the United States Government now maintains trade commissioners or commercial attaches in eleven important Latin-American trade centers. Information received from these agents and from the large and growing consular service regarding business conditions, trade opportunities, official regulations, standards, and commercial and financial methods, is widely distributed to business men in the United States. The extension by American banks of their Latin-American relationships has greatly stimulated trade by providing more ample financial resources and by facilitating the interchange of credit information.

The result is that American manufacturers, shippers and exporters have gained invaluable knowledge as to where trade opportunities exist and how best to take advantage of them. According to a recent statement by the National Foreign Trade Council, "American foreign traders have

learned how to supply the Latin Americans most intelligently, how to pack, ship and handle, the complicated elements of style requirements, business forms, local advertising, credit arrangements and financing in ways that are to-day no longer the decision of our competitors, but in very many cases the model to which they are adapting their own trade methods." To any one who is at all familiar with the recent development of our foreign trade, it is unnecessary to say that this situation reflects a striking change in the last few years.

Finally, the Federal Reserve system has played an important part in the financial phases of trade development by facilitating foreign expansion of American banks and by providing an open market for commercial paper in the United States.

#### *Increasing Exports to Latin America*

These influences have brought about a truly remarkable growth in our trade with Latin America during the last fifteen years. With one exception, the United States now supplies a strikingly larger proportion of the goods imported by every important commercial nation of Latin America than it did before the war. The following figures, compiled by the National Foreign Trade Council, show the growth from 1913 to 1925:

Country	Per Cent. of Total Imports from United States		
	1913	1924	1925
Brazil.....	15.7	24.2	24.8
Argentina.....	14.5	23.1	23.4
Chile.....	16.7	23.5	27.5
Uruguay.....	12.7	26.3	26.2
Colombia.....	26.7	50.0	54.0
Venezuela.....	38.5	55.4	53.4
Peru.....	38.8	40.0	39.0
Ecuador.....	31.0	40.3	44.0
Bolivia.....	7.4	28.5	27.0
Paraguay.....	6.0	13.7	15.0
Cuba.....	53.7	66.0	63.0
Mexico.....	50.6	72.0	70.0

The general trend is unmistakable. Every country mentioned above received a larger proportion of its imports from the United States in 1925 than in 1913. In the case of every country except Peru, the increase is very marked. While a comparison between 1924 and 1925 reveals an equal number of increases and decreases, a more careful calculation shows that the share of imports into twenty Latin-American republics supplied by the United States rose slightly during that year. These twenty

countries received \$914,000,000, or 37½ per cent., of their total imports, from the United States in 1925, as against \$789,000,000, or 37 per cent., in 1924 and \$302,000,000, or 22 per cent., in 1910-13.

During the same period, imports from the United Kingdom, Germany and France decreased from 46 per cent. of the total in 1910-13 to 34 per cent. in 1924 and 33 per cent. in 1925. Although the actual value of imports received from the three principal European countries was \$804,000,000 in 1925, as against only \$700,000,000 in 1910-13, this gain is not sufficient to indicate an increase in volume, in view of the rise in international price levels.

A closer examination of the actual figures shows that the United States is now the largest exporter of goods to every South American country, with the single exception of Paraguay, as well as to Cuba and Mexico. In 1913 this was true with respect to no South American country except Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador and Peru.

Although comparative statistics are not available for more recent years, it appears that increasing European competition, while its effects may have been felt in some measure, has not yet made serious inroads on our recently acquired Latin-American markets. Current figures indicate that the United States will supply perhaps 30 per cent. of South America's imports in 1927, as against 28 per cent. in 1925. Average monthly exports and imports between the United States and Latin-American countries in 1925, 1926 and the first nine months of 1927 are set forth in a table on the following page.

#### *Europe May Regain Supremacy*

There is no doubt, however, that industrial revival in Europe is under way, and that an important phase of that revival is and will continue to be the struggle of European industry to regain its traditional supremacy in South American markets. And it now appears that, in some respects at least, the international economic situation will be such as to aid it in this struggle. The effects of inter-governmental debt payments and of payments of interest and principal on American loans abroad will be to decrease purchasing power and to create a strong demand for dollar exchange in the debtor countries. These factors, in turn, will tend to depress prices in those countries and to raise prices in the United

## U. S. EXPORTS

	1925	1926	1927 (9 months)
Mexico .....	12,060	11,249	9,296
Central America .....	6,065	6,295	6,087
West Indies and Bermudas ..	21,851	18,230	18,575
South America .....	33,550	36,959	36,481
Total .....	73,526	72,733	70,439

## U. S. IMPORTS

	1925	1926	1927 (9 months)
Mexico .....	14,903	14,114	12,107
Central America .....	3,552	4,074	3,387
West Indies and Bermudas ..	25,023	25,650	28,029
South America .....	43,233	47,332	42,459
Total .....	86,711	91,170	85,982

## EXPORTS AND IMPORTS

	1925	1926	1927 (9 months)
Mexico .....	26,963	25,363	21,403
Central America .....	9,617	10,369	9,474
West Indies and Bermudas ..	46,874	43,880	46,604
South America .....	76,783	84,291	78,940
Total .....	160,237	163,903	156,421

NOTE: All figures here are in thousands of dollars, with three ciphers omitted from the tables for convenience in comparison.

States, and at the same time to exert an upward pressure on the exchange rate of dollars in terms of foreign currencies. The effect of this situation will be to make it more difficult for American producers to maintain costs at a competitive level and less difficult for European producers to offer strong inducements in the matter of price.

*We Should Encourage Imports*

Stated in broad economic terms, this means simply that the United States will find it increasingly difficult to maintain its position as an exporting nation, and to prevent the encroachments of foreign producers in its domestic and foreign markets. A creditor nation is normally an importing nation. So far the United States has not become an importing nation because it has increased its foreign investments fast enough to offset the receipts from existing loans; in other words, it has maintained its exports by lending to other countries the money with which to pay for them.

A similar procedure must be followed in Latin America if the United States is to continue to compete successfully in these markets. It is a familiar saying that "trade follows the dollar." Although this statement is not so literally or universally true as has sometimes been represented, it is

fairly descriptive of the actual effects of foreign lending. When one country makes investments in another country, its exports to that country generally tend to increase, either because the terms of the loan include a "tying clause," whereby the borrowing country is obligated to spend the proceeds of the loan in the lending country, or because the borrowing country naturally turns to the source of the needed supplies (when this is possible) for the credit with which to finance their purchase. In a good many cases, moreover, the borrower is a firm whose capital and management are drawn largely or entirely from the lending country, and whose commercial and financial relationships, therefore, are naturally centered there.

But, even if it be assumed that the borrowing country spends the proceeds of the loan in a third country, the latter in turn will increase its imports, so that ultimately the effect of the transaction will be felt in the lending country in the form of an increased foreign demand for its products.

One of the most effective ways for American business to increase its volume of exports is by the indirect method of encouraging imports. This is a phase of the trade-promotion problem that is not receiving the attention it deserves. While the importation of commodities that are direct competitors of American-made products is, of course, strenuously opposed, there are many directions in which our import trade could be expanded without involving such competition. The foreign-trade interests of the United States will progress much more rapidly when they definitely rid themselves of the idea that our industrial prosperity depends upon the maintenance of a so-called "favorable" balance of trade.

The large surplus of loanable funds at the disposal of American investors and the growing familiarity of our investors with foreign securities will tend to strengthen the position of this country as the world's banking center, and will provide us with a strong weapon in the battle for trade supremacy in Latin-American markets.



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# Sugar Production in Cuba

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BY HUGH HAMMOND BENNETT

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THE 1925-26 sugar crop of the world amounted to 27,707,000 short tons, of which 18,679,000 tons were cane sugar and the remainder beet sugar, according to latest published data. Of this crop, Cuba produced 5,462,756 short tons, all of which was cane sugar. In other words, this West Indian Island, which looks so small on the map, produced more than one-fifth of the world's output of sugar and more than one-third of its cane sugar.

After Cuba, India is the largest producer, with an output of 3,334,000 short tons, all cane sugar, for the 1925-26 crop. Much of the Indian crop is low-grade, inferior in quality to the Cuban product, which is largely 96-degree sugar. Then comes Java, with 2,535,152 tons (cane sugar) for the same year. Germany produced 1,763,051 tons of beet sugar, Czechoslovakia 1,664,727, and Russia 1,065,315 tons. The crop for the United States was 981,000 tons from beets and 139,000 tons from cane.

## *Where Sugar Is King*

No other country, regardless of size, comes anywhere near equalling Cuba's output of sugar. When the great areas of the other countries leading in production are compared with that of Cuba, with its 44,164 square miles of territory, it is to be inferred that the island republic either is a tremendously good region for growing sugar or else it produces not much but sugar. As a matter of fact, both shoes fit the Cuban situation. There is in that country some of the finest sugar land of the world, large areas of it.

On the other hand, there are, as in most countries, large tracts of inferior cane land; and, unfortunately, a considerable total of this is now being used for sugar cane. The fact that raw sugar, molasses, and other products of sugar cane amounted to 88.4 per cent. of the total value of exports in 1924 shows to what extent Sugar is King in Cuba.

World consumption of sugar corresponding to the 1925-26 crop year was 26,863,000 short tons, and the per-capita consumption was 28.7 pounds, as against 25,035,000 tons for the preceding year and a per-capita consumption of 26.9 pounds. These are the estimates of Dr. Gustav Mikusch of Vienna, and they indicate world surpluses of more than a million and a half tons for the 1924-25 crop period and less than a million tons for the next crop year.

## *Sugar Consumption Increasing*

For some time the average yearly world increase in sugar consumption has been estimated as amounting to something between 3 and 4 per cent. If such a rate of increase should continue for ten years or more, the product of a greatly expanded sugar industry would be readily absorbed.

The United States consumed sugar for the year corresponding to the 1925-26 crop at the rate of 119 pounds for each inhabitant. This was approximately twenty-three pounds more per person than Canada consumed, twenty-seven pounds more than the individual consumption for the United Kingdom, more than four times the figure for the world and three times that for Europe. This country, according to estimate, consumed about seven million tons of sugar for this period, importing 5,877,429 tons for the year beginning July 1, 1925.

Of this, 4,272,191 tons came from Cuba, representing approximately 78 per cent. of that island's total production and 82 per cent. of her exports to all countries. Conversely, the imports of sugar from Cuba for that year represented approximately 56 per cent. of the supply available in this country for consumption and export.

According to the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, while the production in Cuba increased about 100 per cent. from 1914 to 1925, the total consumption in the United States increased only about 53 per cent. Cuba's production for this period,

in other words, has gone ahead much faster than United States consumption.

### *High Prices and Rapid Expansion*

In 1920 the price of Cuban "raws" rose to 20.26 cents a pound in Cuba. This period was marked by a rapid expansion of the industry. There was wholesale clearing and planting of forest lands in the eastern provinces, and abandoned lands were again planted in middle and western Cuba. New mills were erected and old ones added to. A production of 5,812,068 short tons for the 1924-25 crop, as against 2,921,894 tons for 1914-15, speaks for the kind of expansion that took place during and immediately following the World War.

Then came a period of deflation, and it came like a tornado, leaving financial devastation in the wake of its broad path. In 1921 the price of sugar in Cuba went down to 1.81 cents per pound. The story of the losses incurred by sugar plantations and banks, and the general economic distress throughout the nation, are well known and need not be repeated here.

In 1923 and 1924 the price of sugar moved up some. There had been readjustments of many things, including the wage scale, and new plantings had slowed down enormously. Some money was made during these years, and many plantations and farmers were enabled to recuperate their finances in some degree.

With the record production from the 1924-25 crop, prices sagged again. The high price for raw sugar in Cuba (i.e., high monthly average) during 1925 was 2.65 cents per pound, and the low was 1.80 cents. Most of the following crop sold for prices that ranged from 1.97 to 2.93 cents per pound. The 1927 prices, through September, ranged from 2.43 cents to 2.94 cents.

The result has been that more mills have sustained heavy losses or gone into bankruptcy or its equivalent.

As for all other major crops, the precise cost of producing sugar is exceedingly difficult to determine. Many variants enter the equation, such as differences in the producing capacity of the soil from place to place, field and mill efficiency, location of mill with respect to port and consequent freight charges, and arrangements with those who advance funds for operation.

The consensus of opinion on the Island appears to be that most plantations with

good management and considerable good soil can make some profit under existing conditions of labor and other costs at a selling price somewhat above three cents.

### *In Cuba the Government Steps In*

In May, 1926, the Cuban Government asked the *centrals* to restrict production of the crop, the harvesting of which was then about to be completed, to 90 per cent. of their estimated yield. In October of the same year a Government decree was promulgated fixing January 1, 1927, as the beginning of the grinding season for the 1926-27 crop. It was decreed, also, that the country's output of sugar should not exceed 4,500,000 long tons.

In a speech relating to Government restriction of sugar production President Machado in December, 1926, pointed to the necessity for restriction in order to avoid accumulation of large surpluses and their demoralizing effect upon the world market.

Further legislation to assist the sugar producer has been enacted in the form of the Cuba Sugar Defense Law, which became effective on October 5, 1927. Restriction of production alone had not accomplished the end desired.

The principal features of the Cuba Sugar Defense Law are: (1) Restriction of sugar output; (2) limitation of sugar exports to the United States; (3) creation of a sugar export corporation to handle surplus not exported to the United States; and (4) the creation of a national sugar commission to advise the President of the Republic upon all matters concerning the sugar situation, such as world stocks, outlook for production, and present and future requirements of the world.

Cuba is now producing what must be considered fairly cheap sugar; but there are reasons to believe the cost can be lowered materially by eliminating from cultivation the inferior lands and by devoting as much efficiency to handling the crop in the field, where sugar is really produced, as is devoted to the milling end of the industry. These possibilities are discussed in detail in a volume about to come off the press, which includes the findings of an intensive survey of the lands and agriculture of Cuba led by the author of this article. This survey is being published by the Tropical Plant Research Foundation of Washington and the Cuba Sugar Club of Havana.

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# Youth and Its Problems

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BY S. PARKES CADMAN, D.D.

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IT WAS entirely fitting that a great deal of stock-taking should follow the World War. Those responsible for the chaos the conflict created could scarcely hope to escape the judgment of the younger generation. It is expressed in manifold ways and by a wide diversity of authors, ranging from those who participated in the war itself to the youth of both sexes who demand its rational explanation.

This explanation is by no means easy to discover, with the consequence that a revolt is in process which may yet become a revolution against the policies that ended so disastrously. The extent of the revolt is registered by controversial books, essays, articles and speeches, and by the sporadic snipings of anonymous correspondents in the daily press.

Anxious parents, perturbed pedagogues, intense militants, disgusted traditionalists, ardent radicals, alarmed clerics and protesting students as well as juvenile mechanics and artisans have contributed to the grand inquest upon the civilization jeopardized beyond belief in 1914 and the four subsequent years. Somewhat forgetful of their own shortcomings, the older groups in nearly all countries deplore the excesses and illicit behavior of the younger ones.

## *The Antiquity of Flaming Youth*

There is nothing new in the dissidence between them. On the contrary, it is so chronic that nearly every former age has witnessed the quarrel of flaming youth with cooling age. At its one extreme is the old-fashioned belief that children are born in an iniquity the potential wickedness of which must be strictly quarantined. At the other extreme is Rousseau's beautiful hallucination that human nature is natively noble and only needs congenial surroundings. Psychological research has so undermined these once dominant ideas that to-day the majority of reasonable men and women insist upon the interplay of both

heredity and environment in the formative periods of character.

Yet, as Sir Claudesley Brereton remarks, the difficulties of the situation were undoubtedly accentuated by the volcanic upheaval in Continental Europe which profoundly disturbed the maturest minds, and left a tinge of abnormality in those of millions of young people who lived through or came immediately after it. Many of these latter groups were embittered by the collapse of a social order which heralded itself as well on the way to Paradise until the march into Belgium silenced its reckless optimism.

## *Literature of Rage and Rebellion*

Permanent invalids, shell-shocked in body and soul, mutilated or blinded soldiers and sailors, and large numbers of women condemned to involuntary spinsterhood were disillusioned by what seemed to them a gigantic and wanton strife ending in a ferocious peace. When we recall the widespread demoralization and anarchy which ensued, in which fatuous promises of "a new world fit for heroes and heroines to live in" turned to dust and ashes in the mouths of those who made them, we ought not to be surprised that social stability was severely shaken, or that a universal slump in authority has seriously impaired home supervision and religious guidance.

Out of that anarchy comes the mass of literature which not a few young people read and admire. Much of this literature is manifestly the product of rage and rebellion. In its determination to strip blood-guilty administrations of their specious disguises and to renounce outright sophisticated rhetoric and humbug of every description, it rejects valuable conventions verified by experience, and pours scorn on the qualities of goodwill, generosity and sacrifice which are the cement of society. Individualism run amuck, dependent on instinct alone, is relied upon to

usher in a new order which repudiates Time's slow ameliorations and the patient labors of experiment. Writers of a less scrupulous kind are quick to seize the skirts of these unhappy circumstances. Some propound theories of betterment which are as impossible as the redistribution of the solar system. Others advocate the abolition of accepted codes of behavior in defiance of the fact that their blind negativism is utterly incapable of social reconstruction.

#### *The German Youth Movement*

Germany's defeatism prompted the organization of the *Jugend Bewegung*, which at first resembled the simple sentimentalism of that country's classic period, but is now committed in part to dubious ways. In the United States the National Student Forum adopted the German crusade to little purpose. In Great Britain Mr. Bernard Shaw openly rejoiced over its "ecstasy of demolition." The dictatorship of the learner which has supplanted that of the teacher in Russia obtains partisans everywhere, and is reflected in America's recurrent strikes of high-school and college students. A new freedom severed from all control is proclaimed by advanced feminists, socialists and communists whose notions are echoed in diluted forms by their admirers.

The spirit of the *Jugend Bewegung* itself is revealed in an article by Walter Patil of Leipsic, who wrote in "The New Student" under date of March 3, 1923, as follows:

Then at last the cry that had been waiting so long for outbreak tore a gap in the blue celestial submissiveness. "God is Dead!" A cry, an accusation and longing in one! We became the enemies of the Church. . . . We destroyed the false gods within us, denied religion and dogma. Our blood throbbed and pulsed with yearning. We recognized no more the imperative command of duty. . . . So we released the body and danced the dance of the earth and the stars within us. . . . It is certain that no new religious system like that of Christianity can result from the new faith. Our aim is not to create systems. We do not wish for any religion apart from our real life.

#### *Decline of Parental Discipline*

The repercussion of these whirling words is evidenced in Europe and America by decided changes in social restraint, and in none more palpably than parental discipline. This no longer operates absolutely but mediately. Its chief weapon is remonstrance. Too often it is exercised in the impotent realm of chronic fault-finding. Implicit obedience to its edicts has been re-

placed by the child's non-sympathetic attitude and his frequent demands for explanations of their why and wherefore. His rights and privileges are enlarged on every side, but his duties and obligations are correspondingly diminished. The homes of the poorer classes are as notable for these changes as are those of the well-to-do.

Indeed, indulgence, springing from the desire to give the children a happier time than the parents had, too often leaves the latter with little more than *nil desperandum* as their working motto. The disposition of some among the younger generation to regard their fathers and mothers as responsible for everything connected with them because they brought them into the world places posterity in the saddle. Of course these maldirections lead to a general contempt for the middlemen and the older groups, who are often crowded out of youth's life picture at the moment when they might confer on it dignity, reverence and a wisdom dearly won by experience.

It is therefore by no means superfluous first to stress the importance of the domestic unit. For, notwithstanding the State's immemorial alliance with humanity, the home is prior to it in point of time and in its superior sanctity. As the original nucleus of social order, affection and obedience, it united its members in consanguinity's unbreakable bond. Everything within the narrow range of man's primitive ideas was subjected to the home's supremacy.

#### *The Home Makes History*

The recognition of its rights and their corresponding obligations has since been justified by ageless experience. Nothing has so signally contributed to ethical conduct in all its relationships as the home. It has one life, one law, one element, one destiny. What the forebears were their offspring are; they stand or fall together. If parentage is noble, so is its progeny; if it is treacherous to its trust the consequences fall upon the children. If it squanders the children's spiritual heritage the parents are the poorer; if it enriches it, they are wealthier. They live in the children as the children live in them. One flesh, one blood, one spirit, one strife, one defeat, one victory—this is the secret unity of the domestic and the human drama.

Scan it where you will, there shine the righteous and God-fearing fathers and mothers who are an unspeaking blessing to



their children; there lurk the lustful and profligate ones who blight their children's future. These absorb their characters from their parents and constantly reflect what they think and do.

There is no more exquisite parental pleasure, albeit one charged with inescapable responsibility, than to observe the awakening of the child to its own powers and opportunities. The associations and memories thus created abundantly compensate the pain and labors of parenthood. Yet it is within the mark to assert that the majority of married couples become parents unaware of the accumulations of heredity and environment which determine the weal or woe of the home.

How many such disqualify themselves for the priesthood of the household by their frenzy for illicit pleasure or monetary gain! In how many homes the pieties described in Burns' "Cotter's Saturday Night" have been abandoned! Despite occasional theological absurdities which have since sunk below the level of curiosity, those pieties reinforced the natural religiousness of childhood, and were the major sources of its spiritual vigor and capacity. They have been forsaken at a crisis when mechanical and materialistic elements assert themselves on every side, with the result that much shallowness and cynicism mar the zest of life, and youthful but prematurely stale souls become inert and useless before their fight has well begun. Neurosis, depression, crime and even suicide ravage youth unfortified by domestic religion and its faith in a righteous and loving God.

#### *Youth's New Advantages*

These grave evils are counteracted by certain marked advantages. Dr. William McDougall shows that the self-respect of youth is no longer undermined from the outset by the pernicious notion that it is vile by inheritance. The assumption that corporal punishment is necessary to drive children in the appointed way is widely tabooed. They have a far larger access to realms of knowledge within which they may find not only the inimical and the profitless, but also the treasures of art, literature and science.

Modern facilities for transit and communication have opened hitherto closed kingdoms to the ardent inquiries of the young. They enjoy improved conditions of

personal and social hygiene which have reduced greatly the rate of infant mortality. But the integrity of character which is fed by moral and religious truths does not thrive in homes that neglect them. Nor can careless or selfish parents expect obedience from their children while they obscure those fine traditions of which the family is at once the natural repository and the transmitting agency.

Viewed retrospectively, until 1880 or thereabouts, the two accepted sanctions of ethical control, religion and public opinion, exercised a united sway. It was the age of innocence, when an unquestioned belief in the Bible as the literally inspired oracle of faith and conduct, and in the Church as the universal mother of men, was common to all classes. The codes of a feudal rather than an industrial and democratic order obtained.

#### *The Passing of Authority*

To-day, however, many young people head a radical departure from these beliefs and codes. They question their validity and flout their implications. Educational facilities, which have been extended enormously during the past three decades, induce adolescents to cross-examine forms and creeds which their elders insisted were basic and final. The approach to Judaism and Christianity through critical and psychological methods, and the study of other world religions, have further weakened the parental authority formerly based upon the Scriptures.

Secular education, with its premature trust in the moralizing powers of democracy, has stormed the pass. The admirable efforts of Bible Schools, Young Men's Christian Associations, Young Women's Christian Associations and kindred organizations in the Roman Catholic and Hebrew communions counteract to some extent secularism's triumph, but they do not furnish a sufficient remedy for its mischief. Anthropology contributes to the moral detriment. Students in particular observe the difference in ethical standards and how these have been created to some extent by social and economic environments.

The net result is that quotations from the Bible, especially from its less advanced passages in the Old Testament, are no longer a final court of appeal for American youth. Quite otherwise, a scholar and philosopher who is probably the most popular teacher

of teachers in this country to-day contends that thinking is purely instrumental, and logic subordinate to ethics as he understands them. He defines truth as *that which we can achieve*, and any process of thought as true solely because it functions truly in obtaining *that which it sets out to obtain*.

For the gentleman to whom I refer reason is a subsidiary gesture, since man is but an animal, although one capable of continuous development. A fixed ethic proceeding from a divine source is therefore impossible for him, and any law which prescribes duty or oughtness for life is false because there is no such reality.

#### *New Tests for Moral Standards*

In brief, authoritative and changeless laws imposing indefeasible obligations upon humanity simply do not exist. Every moral situation is personal, singular and unique. It follows that all rival theories, the ruling concept of which is one great end for human life, are founded on a fallacy.

Plainly enough in this teaching science is the technique for attaining good life, and its morals consist in using the means at our disposal for the satisfaction of its demands. According to its tenets, the highest benefits for humanity lie in a full expression of its capacities in the world as it exists, and without setting up any supernatural goal. Freedom consists in the ability to do what one wants; an ability which must be developed by one's knowledge of the laws of nature and of the dispositions of one's fellow men. But two requirements are therefore needful for a moral being: (1) Intelligence; by which is meant the power to forecast the results of scientific laws; (2) Sympathy, to perceive ahead the effect of one's conduct on others.

These ideas have been disseminated beyond colleges and universities by extensive circulation of books such as Durant's "Story of Philosophy"; Dorsey's "Why We Behave Like Human Beings," and similar volumes written from the naturalistic viewpoint. They emphasize the fluidity of life, and contend that by changing environment we can change human nature. The influence of relativity is felt in their pet proposition that group opinion, and not an absolute standard of right and wrong, makes morality. The eternal verities on which the best civilization has hitherto been built are pronounced temporary and vulnerable. These explanations of char-

acter and conduct filter down from the intellectuals who propound them to numberless immature minds which do not understand their philosophical nature, yet manage to give them practical expression.

#### *Religion for a Rising Generation*

Consequently the rising generation has a religion of its own which is nebulous and without specific direction. Righteous behavior apparently depends on circumstances, not on an immutable Moral Order. When parents or teachers forbid an action as wrong, youth is apt to ask why it is wrong. It is not enough to reply that any given action is not conducive to individual or social good, unless the answer is met by the recipient's faith in that Higher Power which always makes for righteousness.

We here confront conditions which measurably justify the complaint that the new learning has shaken traditional domestic morality. The economic independence of girls and young women, their dress and demeanor, the free use of the motor car, the passing of the chaperone and the practice of contraception augment the severity of the problem, and seem to require a wise superintendence which is not always in sight. Nor will it be so while parents and adults in general are untrue to their loftiest professions.

The resultant confusion of values bewilders young people whose natural guardians are so deeply engaged in money making or in the diversions money procures that they are impotent for their responsibilities. What is labeled education frequently omits the high if it is hard of attainment, and temporal prosperity breeds a flabby type of manhood which prevents the unselfish service to which youthful idealism inclines.

The idea of a self-regulated concrete universe for which secularism is the living air is abroad in the land. It demands nothing more than an abject correspondence with things as they are to insure youthful happiness and success. These theories are paraded in some current literature and wayside wisdom as though they were an ultimatum hitherto unknown. Of course they are as old and morally destitute as ancient Paganism, and mentally they are not nearly so competent.

The conclusions drawn from them have been spurned repeatedly by life's insurgent requirements. They have but to be tried once more to reveal their futility and loss.

To be sure, we are consoled by the concession that supernatural religion may for the moment reduce the fierce strife between flesh and spirit, and so render first aid to a bedevilled world. But its principles are censured as productive of childish experiments which benumb brain and conscience. The spiritual basis of morals is either flatly denied or passed over as an insoluble enigma. The powers of eager upward living are not due, we are told, to Divine inspiration, but to the germ plasm, or to chemical affinity, or to the biological readjustments that affinity effects — technical phrases which are utterly irrelevant since they describe processes and not causes.

Yet they have a considerable vogue among those who define existing ethical formulas as primitive superstitions wallowing in the romantic. They admonish us that the time is near when young people having decisions to make about character and conduct will desert priests and parsons for experts who deal with life's certitudes in a scientific fashion separated from melodramatic religion.

#### *Sane Scientific Thinking*

It should be said that these gratuitous assumptions of naturalistic scientists and philosophers are totally rejected by other and equally well-qualified authorities who insist they are intellectually unwarranted and morally injurious.

Professor Michael Pupin, in his latest book on "The New Reformation," asserts that "when man began to worship, the embryo of the spiritual world began to form in his consciousness. This raised him by leaps and bounds above the level of the lower animals. But man's worship is unthinkable without a recognition on his part that a creative power exists which is far superior to the creative power of his own soul. . . . Observation, experiment and calculation led science to the revelation of new realities. . . . In a similar way human experience, derived from contemplation and analysis of the creative power of the human soul, led human reason to the belief in God, the fountain-head of all spiritual realities. The values of these realities fortified this belief. Their values in human life are felt daily even more deeply than the values of physical realities. . . . The individual man is a granule in the world of humanity. His relationship to other granules of humanity and to the physical universe gives his life a

definite meaning. This relationship is completely determined by his conduct. If the social cosmos, the Kingdom of God, is to appear on earth, then the human granules must be guided toward that goal, just as the chaotic vapor molecules are guided by intrinsic forces when they coalesce into the cosmos of beautiful snowflake crystals."

Despite the antagonism of thinkers whose specious terms are often mental conveniences, Professor Pupin is not ready to dispense with the unseen but powerful factors which institutional religion stresses. He speaks not only for the sane scientific thinking of to-morrow but for the instinctive reactions of the populace to-day.

For, however numerous and lamentable the ethical shortcomings of the American people are, they resent speculations which freeze the heart of youth, heap grievous burdens on age, cripple society's organizing faculty, and deprive it of the consciousness of common obligation and common action which unrestrained individualism destroys. The ironic complacency of some skeptical educators who condemn the Church and all her works is ludicrous in view of the fact that, indifferent though many parents are to Biblical religion, they are practically unanimous in agreeing that its standards of conduct are the highest available.

Moreover, the saving gift of humor in our countrymen sustains their immunity to the propositions of naturalistic skepticism. Laughter frequently unifies this Republic more closely than the scholar's logic. If he is so bemused with his own conceptions as to be oblivious to the spiritual realities which Professor Pupin and his school enforce, he may be tolerated, but he is not taken seriously.

#### *Speed Without Direction*

Too many Americans in particular are obsessed by speed without direction. Their grandparents were leisurely of necessity. They had to time themselves by the "one-hoss shay" and the ox team, with the stage-coach for an occasional joy ride, whereas their descendants are keyed to the express train and motor car. Notwithstanding the heavy toll exacted by aviation it enlists youth's ardent sympathy because it promises conquests of speed.

In this arduous encounter of flesh and blood with mechanism's steel, steam and gas, safety is discounted and the mania for swiftness exalted. It has already helped

to short-circuit childhood, adolescence, maturity, and even age itself.

In the muddle of things as they are too many grandchildren smoke and too many grandparents jazz. Mutton masquerades as lamb and lamb as mutton. The sere and yellow leaf sprouts untimely on the bough of youth, while age puts forth spasmodic shoots in December only to have them nipped by death's merciless blast. Yet the bane of these excesses develops its own antidote. A physical conscience is at work to-day which insists on health associations, free clinics, dietary rules, athletic exercises by radio, and sun baths. The care of defectives and delinquents offset to some degree the bad results of their promiscuous breeding.

#### *A Real Enlightenment*

The range of beneficial activities for youth loosely defined by the term "social welfare" interpenetrates the whole structure of society. Dr. Charles A. Beard compares a cross section of our State Administration in 1870 with a cross section in 1927, and shows that the comparison is a complete demonstration of the benefits of democracy. Looking backward, he finds encouragement; looking forward, he foresees in what remains to be done "an undeniable challenge to our powers of imagination and action." As I see it, the real youth movement of the past thirty-five years finds its genuine outlet in the humane legislation and greater economic justice dictated by a social compunction now eulogized by its former adversaries.

Timely agitation, economic pressure and the spread of ethical ideas have enacted more enlightened statutes in the United States since the inauguration of President Harrison than were enacted during the hundred and ten years between the founding of the Federal Government and his presidency. Fireside, forum, shop, office, press and serial; in short, the commendable labors of countless men and women of every age and social status, many of whom were content to be obscure, have renewed the youth, the vigor, and the hope of this complex organization to which we all belong.

The recovery of moral standards for youth may be expedited by allying them with beauty as well as authority. The dullness, drabness and æsthetic stupidity too often associated with upright conduct have made it appear stale and insipid to

adolescent vision. Since our age is analogous to that of the Greeks in its fondness for physical development, physical frankness and freedom from the blur of sentimentalism, it is urged that we should cultivate that sense of perfect form which distinguished the Athenians. Certainly to substitute what is lovely, courteous and winning for what is ugly, rude and repellant would transform the manners of a numerous tribe of adults and youths. But Professor Murray of Oxford could enlighten some who do not go beyond this desire for proportion in art and for a more urbane behavior concerning the abysmal degradation which swallowed up the Greek proletariat.

#### *What Youth Might Learn*

Yet like the sun, the thing that matters in them or any other people is not their spots but their radiance. Beyond question beginnings have been made throughout the United States in art, architecture, and interior decoration which promise well.

Our youngsters should be taught that beauty is linked with truth and goodness as the three elementals of religion, and that the slum can be exterminated when we have gotten rid of the slum mind. Its theft, covetousness and wanton violation of personality in the child and the adolescent are foul and repulsive vices which stifle the grace and charm that should enhance life. When they come to their own, the Puritanism of the future will not have to forfeit its poetry, nor the poets their purity. From the standpoint of beauty, appropriate actions, magnanimous appreciations and pleasures liberated from grossness are the norm of youthful behavior.

Those who would estimate youth's impulses correctly, and know the shape they should take and the rules they should obey, will first have to consider the gregarious imitativeness which not only explains the gangster, the criminal and the under-dressed flapper, but the entire undertaking and economy of life.

Doubtless many customs are foolish, and others harmful or vicious. But in the main they can be used for furthering the moral welfare of the young. Those who would so use them should remember that three more or less adverse forces will have to be surveyed afresh in any restatement of efficient ethical teaching.

The first is scientific rationalism, which rejects the claim of any institution of State



or Church to circumscribe the freedom of the youthful mind.

The second, Socratic in substance, is the new humanism which contends that true life consists solely in the development and enjoyment of human powers in the material world, and the perfecting of youth's intellectual capacities through culture.

The third is the relation of industrialism to capitalism, and its bearing upon economic and social as well as political equality.

These are standing problems involving moral danger as pronounced as the loss of the sense of personal obligation and initiative, and the substitution of class prejudice and group or political despotism for the control of spiritual forces and institutions.

Their solution may have to wait for those extraordinary personalities apart from which many problems are insoluble. Meanwhile it is well for youth to know that its social and religious heritage cannot be treated with impunity, and that its control will not only continue but increase as society grows more complex. Since it is futile for any individual to attempt to operate his own life on data supplied by its limited experience, it is vain to suppose that the organized supervision of ethical standards is destined to oblivion.

#### *Sex: Instruction or Ignorance?*

Here, however, we are confronted with the intricate difficulties of sex, for which sympathetic understanding and mutual help are most needed and least supplied. Ignorance, and worse still, misinformation or a fatal reticence befog the issue. It is questionable if all other conjoined causes of human happiness or human misery are as creative of both these conditions as is this single instinct.

Life, with what it yields of joy and woe, hope and fear, depends to a great degree upon sex relations. These, to quote Emerson, are abnormally powerful. Nature was so intent on preserving the species that she overloaded the procreative passion at the risk of perpetual crime and disorder. So it would be a Hamlet minus the Prince to ignore this passion in any discussion of youth, and it is nothing short of injurious folly to do so at a moment when young people are openly concerned as perhaps never before with the sex problem. They resent the evasions or repulsions with which the issue has been treated by their parents, and they do this the more readily because

they are well aware that questions concerning the origins of life naturally arise in the mind of every healthy adolescent.

Not a little morbid curiosity, immodesty and even impurity in youth is traceable to an unwise repression of knowledge which leaves the boy or girl at the mercy of casual companionships and the back alley. Information imparted by such means as these is usually disastrous. Matters demanding the home's most delicate care and the sympathetic counsel of parents, teachers, physicians and pastors are dragged in by street arabs to enforce foul allusions or obscene stories. This neglect, and the subsequent perversions, account for a large number of unhappy marriages.

On the other hand, it is significant that Doctor Katherine B. Davis should ascribe the large majority of one thousand successful marriages which she personally had investigated to proper sex instruction obtained beforehand.

A sound understanding of the technique of love would remove inhibitions and prevent the blundering which either exterminate the passion altogether or accelerate its degenerate phases. The celibates, the mismatched, childless, divorced, and the mental or moral wrecks who write me weekly furnish convincing evidence of the evils of sex ignorance and sex prostitution, and also of the close relation between them.

#### *Immodesty Rebuked*

The Pope himself has rebuked the abuses of purposed sex appeal and of extravagant feminine attire and adornment. Countless clergymen of all the churches have done likewise. Yet there is no material change in the dress of girls and women, and there will be none till they decree it for themselves. Granting their somewhat slavish subservience to fashion, and that the poorest of them often spend money recklessly to gratify its whims, it still remains true that though an ill-dressed woman is a social nuisance, a well-dressed one is a social necessity.

But who is to determine the difference between them except women? Certain malingerers of the opposite sex who view them with a jaundiced eye, or through the miasma of base desire, may insist that on the whole feminine beauty is degrading. This I do not believe. Moreover, the average woman is modest for the sake of

self protection. Her good taste and refinement elevate every circle in which she moves. She knows that monogamous marriage safeguards her against men and against herself, and that it also assures to her a higher level of life than any other system hitherto tried or imagined. She will therefore dress and behave as attractively as she can, and she is justified in so doing.

Nevertheless feminism has its limits, and unless I am mistaken, these have been transgressed in the past decade. The trouble is that too many girls and younger women exercise its charms without rightly appraising the responsibility that goes with them. Beyond question countless feminine adolescents who are dubbed immodest are unconscious of this fault. They may go a little beyond custom and expose sixteen inches of limb instead of six. But they are not nearly so blameable as older women who contribute their backs as well as their shoulder-blades to the evening's depressing spectacles.

#### *Faults of an Older Generation*

Someone has suggested that a book be written on "What a Girl of Eighty Ought to Know." Make it fifty and upward and it deserves wide reading. Meanwhile we must be content to know that present fashions will pass, if only for the reason that they reveal quite as much deformity as symmetry. But it is to be hoped that their marked hygienic benefits will remain.

It may be said in summary that young people to-day are essentially what their predecessors have been. They too nearly resemble their parents to be saints, and are too much like themselves to be anything but human. The all-wheat or all-tares verdict upon them is largely temperamental and altogether wrong. They have a tragic aspect for pessimists who think in sepia and paint in blackness. They have a celestial aspect for sentimentalists who visualize them in a fictitious glamor. Their real condition is perceptible to neither group. Moreover, half the vibrancy of youth and far more of its fascination consists in its infinite shadings, contrasts, high or low lights and paradoxical situations. Rigidly scrutinized, its deceptions disappear, its minor phases are known to be misleading and its objectionable features exaggerated.

To be sure, too many young men and women are unconcerned about the difficult

art of living. Given a new jazz tune, a mushy movie, a highly sexed drama and a few extra dollars for the white lights of the town, these misguided youngsters sally out on another hilarious excursion which frequently has a sorry finish. Nor can it be denied that the average age of the criminal classes is shockingly low. Guns, bootleg whisky, narcotics and a hold-up spell out for them the rapture of living.

These facts should not be blinked. Yet notwithstanding their heavy counter-weight the balance decidedly swings to the opposite scale. Despite the prevalence of peculiar temptations which the older generation never experienced, the younger one asserts its spiritual beliefs and aims, in the teeth of strenuous opposition. Adults who moan over its irreligiousness should confess their own sectarian bigotries and enthusiasms, which in many instances have deprived boys and girls of the religious education to which they were entitled.

How can we who are the trustees of their destiny ask them to follow in our steps if we have not revealed the true path by precept and example? Those who live in glass houses or have ghostly specters in their secret closets should be the last to hurl accusations at erring youth. So long as some orthodox teachings about God, the Bible and the soul are little better than a rough and ready preparation for future skepticism, it is no use condemning the harvests of our own sowing.

#### *The Real New Youth*

After making sufficient allowance for the large number of young men and women who deliberately throw their real life into the discard, an effective remnant is left which is blazing trails to a better civilization with prescience and daring. Our youth does not raise the burning cross of creedal exclusiveness and arrogant nativism. Colleges and universities are not nurseries of the silly pride and boastful prejudice which thwart national and international goodwill. The student groups of the United States may shy from the sort of Deity which some theologians depicted. But I make bold to say that they believe in the God of world justice and world peace revealed by Christ.

At any rate, the ideals inseparably related to Him are their soul's meat and drink. They have emancipated themselves to an amazing degree from some needless

separatisms and malformed notions in which they were cradled. In proof of these assertions, take the Milwaukee Inter-collegiate Student Conference in December, 1926, where hundreds of undergraduates declared that they would avail themselves of no social privileges on their respective campuses which were denied to students of any other race.

Yet that attitude is only a fragmentary testimony to the larger purposes of modern youth and its religious devotion. The Friendly Relations Committee of the Young Men and Women's Christian Associations are doing a heroic thing in leveling the barriers which obstruct fellowship between the diversified sections of our polyglot population. The vast racial morasses that divide the East from the West will ultimately be drained out by the younger life of America, Europe and Asia. In its restless searchings true religion is reborn and the breeding grounds of hate, injustice and war are abolished. The ocean lanes are annually crowded with ships carrying the young of both sexes from one country to another. Their commerce in ideas disrupts provincialism, and prepares the way for the humanism which must ramify the civilization we inherit if it is to be secure.

We have reiterated from pulpit and platform, press and magazine the obligation of a self-governing people to manifest a more widespread and intelligent interest in politics and in religion. This interest is being kindled in the serious-minded student groups which are the leaven of youth's mass. The young men and women to whom reference is made are not monopolized by fraternity frivolities, midnight drinking bouts or petting seances.

#### *A Challenge to Those Who Sneer*

Six hundred different Student Conferences of both sexes held in the United States last year in behalf of national purification from recognized evils and world peace challenge the sneer that youth has set the feet above the head to swear the brains are in the feet. Abused, calumniated, and caricatured though they are by furious propagandists and the hirelings of an espionage system these young people will have to be heeded.

Again, since religion is vital, they ask for data procured by laboratory methods which prove that vitality. Judged by their declarations they are on the right

track, although at intervals at a distance from the center. Judged by their honesty, sincerity, detestation of cant, and unselfishness, they stand head and shoulders above the youth of my generation.

*The Literary Digest's* poll of July 17, 1926, published the statements of nearly one hundred editors of college publications to the effect that drinking among students has declined in recent years. This does not harmonize with other statements concerning the sons and daughters of wealthier parents in general. But it has its place and value in the controversy on this issue.

What we should stress is the condition of the immense majority of young people who toil for their bread. I have observed them again and again pouring out of the subways of Boston and New York, and crowding the streets of Chicago and Philadelphia, on their way to work. These future citizens and leaders are intent on their task. Many of them seize a brief respite in crowded trains or on surface cars to read a book or newspaper.

For them life is no day dream; it is real, hard, disciplinary and meaningful. Their hearts, homes, ideals and prospects should be our constant care. The gilded scum floating in cabarets and night clubs is negligible in comparison with the hosts of God's toiling aristocracy. I visualize them afresh as I write. None can tell me that they are the flotsam and jetsam of vanity, sex, conceit, and lies. No finer human material exists for a nation's structural strength. Had they received from society as freely as they give, many of their difficulties and ours would have died aborning.

Nevertheless the divine urge is in them, and the humanity of to-morrow gravitates around them. I submit that we should dread the fat-witted conservatism of age far more than the prophetic liberalism of youth. These young comrades of ours can do no worse than we have done in chicanery, irreligiousness, truculence and war.

Let us who are older supply their legitimate demands, be patient with their experiments, and encourage their dreams of a world in which peace shall reign, industry shall be democratized, the Church shall rise above divisions of her own making, and racial coöperation and brotherhood prevail. In those dreams is the hope of humanity. It is for us to help their consummation by tempering the impetuosity of youth with the caution of age.

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# Dr. Cadman: At Home and Abroad

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BY SIR HENRY LUNN

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IT IS a privilege that the editor has granted me in asking me to write a few lines about the altogether unique and unparalleled radio services, one of which I attended on the last Sunday in November in the Brooklyn Y. M. C. A., and to say something of my friend, Dr. S. Parkes Cadman, who was the speaker on that occasion.

It is thirty-seven years since I first made the acquaintance, in England, of the young Methodist theological student who was to achieve such distinction. It was at the moment when his devotion to the lady who has shared his life and his trials led him to transgress his Church's discipline by marrying before the end of the seven years laid down by the conference. In those days I understood and sympathized with any who wished to shorten the term.

During my residence at college I once heard a student offer the following petition at college prayers: "O Lord, Thou knowest that we students of the first year look forward to these long seven years of waiting. Grant that they may be to us as the seven years that Jacob served for Rachel, which were but as one day for the love that he bore her." This remarkable petition inclined the irreverent to laugh, but there was much sympathy with the desire expressed.

In consequence of the regulation Dr. Cadman left his mother church, British Methodism, to find a wider sphere than could have been afforded him in the old country for unique service for God and Humanity in this great American republic.

In that memorable conference at Stockholm, consisting of nearly forty nationalities and almost as many of the leading churches of Christendom, Dr. Cadman played a distinguished part, which he repeated last summer in the Ecumenical Conference on Faith and Order at Lausanne, in Switzerland. At this latter conference he was chosen to read one of the two opening

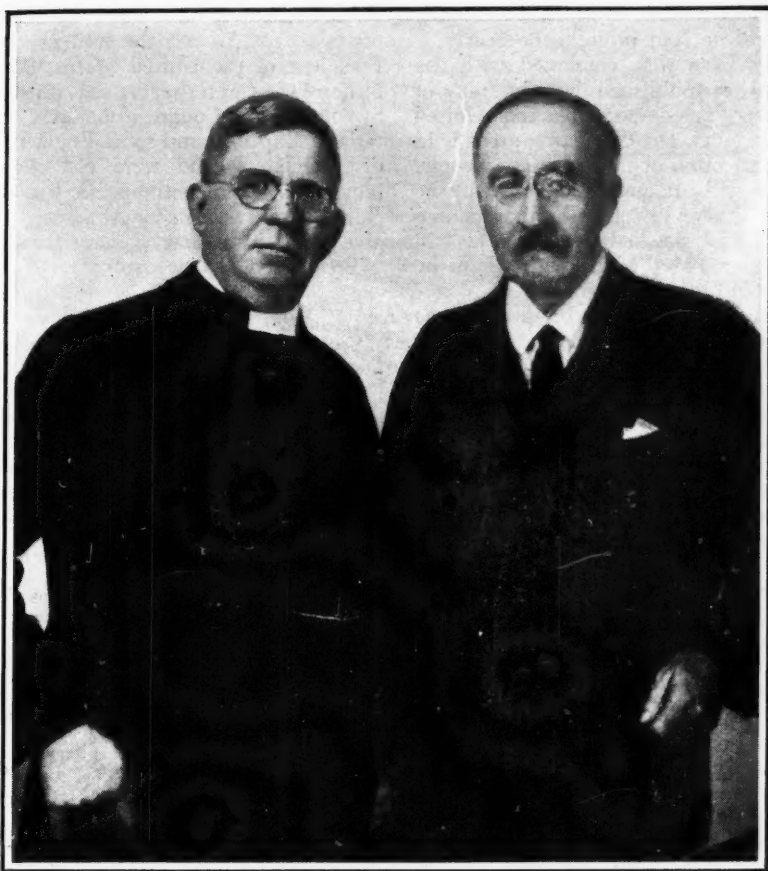
papers on "The Doctrine of the Church," and it is not necessary to say that he fully justified the choice of the committee.

On his way to Lausanne he passed through England and was welcomed at a public luncheon in London with unique honor as the president of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. The Archbishop of Canterbury, who attends few such functions, was present on this occasion to greet the leading representative of the religious life of America. During this short visit to London Dr. Cadman also gave a series of midday addresses on the radio in which he dealt with questions submitted to him in that masterly style which is known to so many millions of Americans.

The old proverb that "A poet is born and not made," expresses a principle that applies to genius of all kinds, and certainly to the remarkable work which Dr. Cadman undertakes in his task every Sunday afternoon. As I listened to question after question of the most varied character—admirably selected by the committee whose duty it is to choose the subjects from hundreds of letters that they receive in the week—I was lost in astonishment at the readiness and logical fashion in which each one was answered. There was also in the answers a great deal of humor and a delightful frankness. One question was, "Have you ever been up in an airplane? If not, why not?"

In his answer to this Dr. Cadman, humorously referring to the fact that his life began as a miner, said: "I spent nine years underground, but now I prefer terra firma, and I shall not risk myself in an airplane." At the same time he recognized the permanent service which will be rendered by this method of transit to mankind in the future. He paid his tribute to the brave men who, at considerable peril to themselves, show what can be accomplished. He did, however, put in a very definite caveat against the transatlantic risks being undertaken.





DR. S. PARKES CADMAN AND SIR HENRY LUNN

From a photograph by Lee Rollinson, made especially for the *Review of Reviews*.

There was a broad sanity about his replies to a question that asked whether dramatic training could be obtained for the young people of the church, when he said, "We know the denunciation of the theater that relieves the speaker but not the situation." He went on to mention a school in connection with Plymouth Church in Brooklyn, where lessons are given in dramatic training, and said with a good deal of force that many preachers might well learn how to conduct themselves and make proper gestures and use the necessary elocution in the pulpit.

His answer to the inquiry whether he ever thought of running for U. S. Senator showed his high sense of his calling as a minister. He said, "No, that is not my business. It is not the business of any truly ordained minister of Christ. No preacher

would leave his pulpit for any place you could offer him in the Senate or even the Presidency of the United States. We are servants of the most high God, and that is the supreme service. May He enable us to fulfill it worthily!" This striking sentence gives an insight into the profound sense of vocation which animates Dr. Cadman in all his work.

Again his sanity is manifested in answer to the question of some one whose prayers had not been answered, who asked whether prayer is answered to-day as it was in Bible days. He told this questioner that "There is no greater boon of God's love and wisdom than not to grant many of the petitions which we present to Him."

As one listened to this astonishing master of men dealing simultaneously with the needs of millions, the greatness of the oppor-

tunity and the manner in which it was made use of could not but impress the hearer.

Such work as this, combined with the similar answers published daily in many of the leading newspapers of the United States, has given Dr. Cadman a great hold upon the affection of the American people. Americans will understand better why he inspires a similar affection in the country from which he has exiled himself if a certain fact about the Methodists with whom he associated in his youth is explained.

When he and I were boys Methodism was defined as "A penny a week and a shilling a quarter." This phrase meant that in early Methodism the ministry was largely supported by contributions from each member of the Methodist Society of a penny a week, given at the weekly class or fellowship meeting, and a shilling a quarter given by each member for his ticket of membership. Dr. Cadman in all these years in America has maintained his membership in the Shropshire class which he belonged to as a boy. He has continued his contributions regularly, and maintained his membership. This fact has delighted British Methodism more than words can express.

At the same time his devotion to the Methodism of Shropshire rather troubled his friends last summer. After the Lausanne conference was over, instead of allowing me to carry him off to the high Alps,

Where in an ampler purer air,  
Above the stir of toil and care,

he could really have rested, the magnetic attractions of that Shropshire village were so great that he went to the countryside and devoted three precious weeks to preaching and speaking for the funds of those little country churches. It is not only the Archbishop of Canterbury and the leaders of the churches, but also the "common people," who love, honor, and respect him.

After the Sunday afternoon cross-examination before these millions of listeners, I returned with him to his home, and had the privilege of looking through two most extraordinary volumes. When the twenty-fifth anniversary of his ministry at Brooklyn and the thirty-fifth anniversary of his work as a minister were celebrated, in 1926, he was presented with an admirable portrait by Frank Salisbury, R. A. This occasion elicited from his friends all over the world the most unusual collection of letters that I

think could ever have been written to any ecclesiastic. Among the writers were the President of the United States, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Primate of Sweden, Jews, Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Baptists, and some English Methodist ministers who were old enough to remember when to the great loss of their church he left them for America. I must give extracts from one or two of these letters.

President Coolidge wrote:

I wish to join your many friends and admirers in extending heartiest congratulations.

Your sturdy Christianity, your broad-minded tolerant analysis of and attitude toward the problems of the individual and of society in general have been an inspiration and a beneficent influence. That influence has been felt far beyond the bounds of your pulpit, beyond the confines of your city. May you long continue to be an example and exponent of the vital forces in religion.

Governor Smith of New York State wrote:

It falls to few men to do honor and to be honored by such long and distinguished service in the Ambassadorship of God. What compensations and satisfactions must be yours in the contemplation of nearly four decades of spiritual helpfulness, of fatherly guidance, of pastoral direction, of brotherly love and its advocacy, of tender ministrations as variant as the emotions of sorrow and joy. . . .

Let me extend my heartiest congratulations. Truly, you are deserving of the honors that will come to you on this day.

One of the most charming of these testimonials is from a professor at the theological college which Dr. Cadman left to come to America, who writes:

Is there any room for a tiny rill of sound from Richmond, Surrey, England? And from one who, however imperfectly, represents your Alma Mater over here? I venture to think there is, and that amidst the Niagara rush and pour of voices you would even be a little disappointed if those who knew you here forty years ago did not join their voices with the rest—you would miss them. There are not many of them, but mine is one, and I want with all my heart to give thanks for the goodness and mercy of God who has enabled the Richmond student of 1886 (or thereabouts) to see 1926 after such a story of varied, strenuous, noble, and successful work as you by His grace have accomplished.

But the Editorial patience will scarcely permit me to continue these tributes to one who is so well known to the readers of this REVIEW. I can only conclude by expressing thankfulness that the student of forty years ago, leaving England an unknown man, has grown to be the unofficial Ambassador of Good-Will between the peoples of this great republic and his native land.

# Getting in Step with Beauty

BY ROBERT W. DE FOREST

President, Metropolitan Museum of Art

TO THOSE of us who have been concerned with the artistic vitality of American life, the post-war period and particularly the last few years have brought special promise and encouragement. I refer here neither to the important accessions of our museums, which have been made possible by the breaking-up of famous collections of the masters in the Old World, nor to the notable additions to our museum resources through generous benefactions, important as these factors have been. What I would particularly emphasize at this time are the significant evidences that the America of huge factories and of mass production is beginning to harness the attractive force of good design in team with the tractive power of her machinery. We are now showing signs of understanding that to walk with beauty we need not necessarily limit ourselves to trooping through the galleries of our formal collections of art.

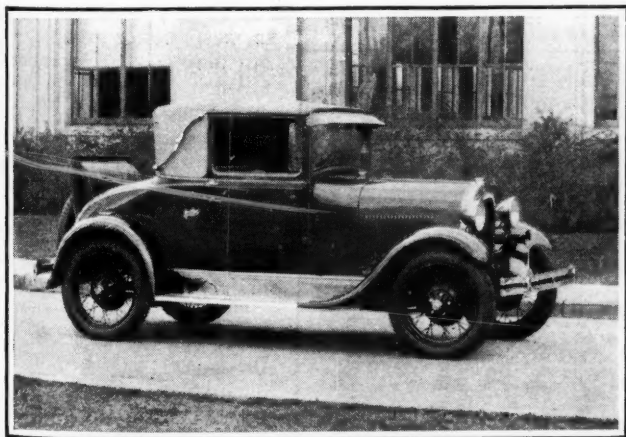
Here is a progression in point of view

which is considerably removed from our Puritan heritage of suspicion towards beauty, and well in advance of the cult of utilitarianism. For when we reclaimed our æsthetic souls in part at least from the austere arbiters of salvation, we promptly submerged them in the flood of mass production with sole regard to utility. Now we are beginning to impose conditions on the machinery which crowded out the handicrafts and home industries in the name of efficiency; we are still content to have things made for us at less expenditure of human energy than in the old days of hand-work, but we ask that they be pleasing to the eye and to the touch as well as cheap and useful.

The elements making for this change are based in human nature itself, for the normal person is keenly sensitive to his surroundings and likes to see and handle things that please him. Unfortunately, however, this sensitivity is often unconscious or unexpressed. Hence the manu-

facturer has been going unrestrainedly on his way, producing things that have become necessities because of their utility and cheapness but that nevertheless are, in form or color, an affront to man and God. Herein has lain the tragedy of American supremacy in mass production, for so much of the bad could just as easily have been good. Best proof of this lies in a comparison of the yellow bowl of common kitchen currency, which is so often graceful in line and pleasing in shade, with some atrocity of the dining-room or of the living-room.

It would seem at times as if each new invention to



HENRY FORD NOW ADOPTS BEAUTY

The ever-growing demand on the part of the American public for beauty in the things which they buy has forced Mr. Ford to transform his famous Model T into a most alluring new product. A variety of tasteful colors replaces the old-time standard black, and the lines are much more graceful.

make life easier or more pleasant (whether the introduction of gas lighting or the development of steam heating) had marked the advent of a new æsthetic *Schrecklichkeit* into the American home. We are so young and active a nation that we have had eyes for only what each new invention could do, not for how it looked.

#### *Art Goes to Work for Industry*

How these dormant artistic traits have been awakened and marshaled to rescue sleeping beauty from the beast of stark utility, is an open question. There are some who say that the credit goes to the advertising men as the first business group to appreciate the attractive force (and hence the cash value) in the artistic appeal. Certainly some advertisements have become a pleasing feature of many of our periodicals, and just as certainly this beneficent influence has extended to great improvements in the appearance of the packages and containers in which so many of our manufactured products are now sold. In some cases, perhaps, and assuredly in the case of automobiles, this influence has reached the design of even the product itself.

Others would advance a claim for leadership on behalf of the museums of art, and there is strong evidence to support these claimants. Every progressive museum in recent years has felt it to be an essential public duty to serve commerce by making available for study and inspiration the cultural resources in its collections. Special exhibits of industrial art are a feature of

this service and have a stimulative effect with ever widening response. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, for example, held its tenth annual exhibit of this nature last winter and is now preparing a successor for a growing public.

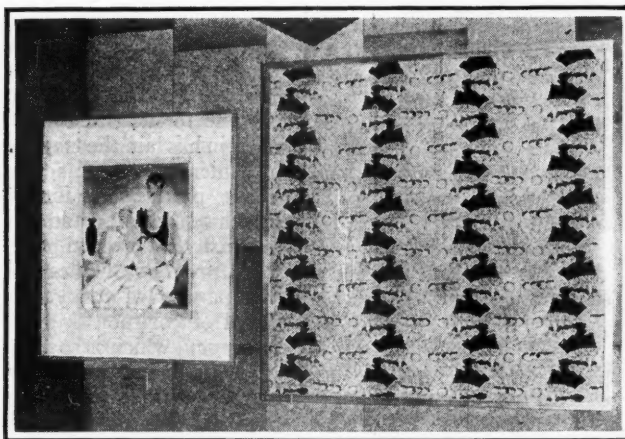
Even more important than these periodic displays is the continuous service to manufacturers in which the resources in the collections and the information and experience of the museum staff are made available to the maker of anything and everything from costly bibelots to lowliest objects of every-day use. The emphasis is upon adaptation of classic designs to meet modern conditions, rather than upon slavish imitation of things which were designed to please earlier generations each with a totally different condition and milieu.

There is still another factor of leadership in bringing art into the every-day activities of life. As yet it is more significant in the promise than in the performance, although one notable step has already been taken and will be followed up this winter. I refer to the influence which the retail shops and particularly the department stores can exert in encouraging better design in the manifold articles of trade. The high potentiality of this influence merits more extended study.

#### *From the Museum to the Store*

For the average person a visit to an art collection is a conscious exercise of æsthetic interest. He goes for cultural education or pleasure. He may go to see certain

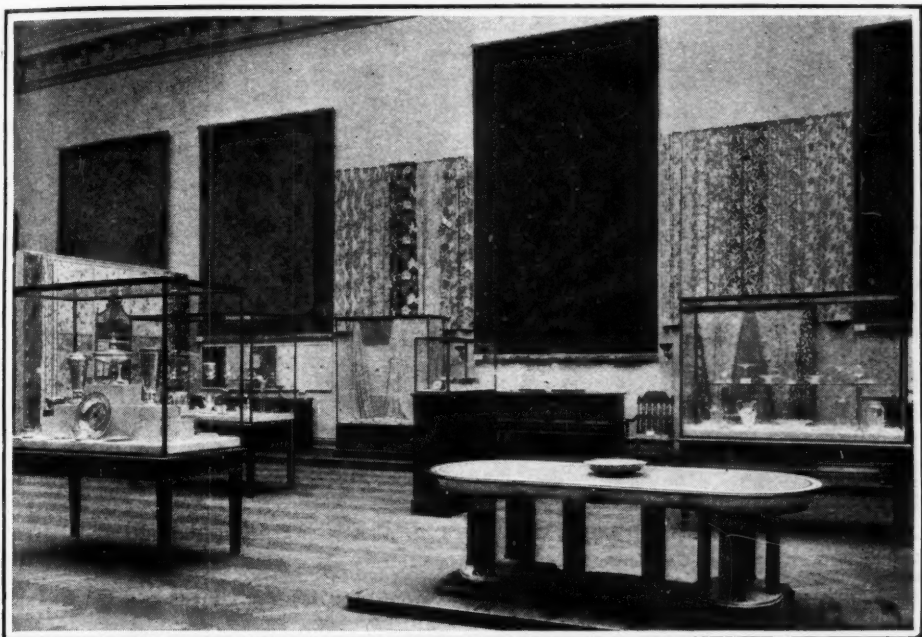
masterpieces or groups, or he may go to wander through the galleries. In either case he has to come away again, bearing only memories. His critical interest is dulled, consciously or unconsciously, by the knowledge that what he sees is not his. He can neither destroy the things he dislikes nor treasure those he enjoys. Even if the museum is a public one, there is small comfort in the fact that he, as a taxpayer, participates in its ownership. Art is too personal a matter to be greatly stimulated by any such attenuated possession.



"GENTLEMEN PREFER BLONDES"

This is a silk design by Stehli and the picture by Ralph Barton which inspired it. A recent tendency is to make use of objects and ideas from modern life.





INDUSTRIAL ART ON EXHIBITION AT THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM IN NEW YORK

Not only the Metropolitan but all progressive museums have for years endeavored to serve industry by making their treasures available for study and inspiration. This is a part of the Metropolitan's tenth annual exhibit of this nature.

Contrast this visit of an average person to an art gallery with a shopping expedition which is all in the day's work. Here the acquisitive sense and the possessive instinct are highly stimulated. Things are to be bought for personal use. They are to be lived with and they must satisfy the tastes and express the personality of the purchaser. Within an individual's price limits, the shopper can exercise his discriminative and selective faculties to his heart's content, and his success will be compared with the results achieved by his friends in their shopping. Thus there opens out a cultural plane which is animate, sensitive to suggestion and responsive to progress; and the department store has become the focus of radiation.

#### *An Initial Experiment*

It was an appreciation of this fact that led the Metropolitan Museum of Art to show its interest and active good-will when the department store of R. H. Macy & Co., Inc., undertook last spring to hold an Art-in-Trade Exposition as an experimental demonstration of the advances which American manufacturers have made in

introducing good design into articles of every-day use.

That a leading commercial firm should turn to the Museum for advice and co-operation in an experiment of this nature was in itself generous reward for the pioneering work which the Museum's staff has been doing for the last ten years and more in interesting American industry in the matter of design. Also, from the Museum's standpoint it was an important opportunity to compare the attractive force of a purely artistic demonstration against a background of business life with the results of similar displays in the atmosphere of the Museum.

In considering the results of this initial experiment, it should be borne in mind that the originators of the enterprise were fortunate in the choice of those who were commissioned to organize the Exposition. Mr. Lee Simonson has developed a considerable reputation, particularly in his staging of plays for the Theatre Guild, and his design of the galleries and backgrounds for the displays of articles in every-day use caught the spirit of the enterprise and made the most of it. As co-director



#### A DEPARTMENT STORE CONDUCTS AN ART-IN-TRADE EXPOSITION

Last Spring R. H. Macy and Company of New York undertook this experimental demonstration of the progress made by manufacturers in introducing good design in articles of common use. They were able to obtain the coöperation of Mr. Lee Simonson, of theater fame, and Miss Virginia Hamill, industrial art counsellor. His design of the galleries and backgrounds and her displays attracted wide attention.

of the Exposition, Miss Virginia Hamill contributed a wide knowledge of the available resources and discriminating taste in the selection of the exhibits from them.

Considering the difficulties faced by a private concern in arranging a pioneer demonstration of this type, it was an arresting exhibition and a brave first-step in the path along which American industry must inevitably go from now on. The uniqueness of the experiment, the obvious merit of the content and display of the material, and the power of a great store to advertise and draw visitors combined to make this Art-in-Trade Exposition one of the most successful and promising developments in the cultural life of New York last season. But the most significant result was the demonstration that the sometimes derided department stores have a potential leadership of the utmost importance in guiding and moulding public taste and in improving the standards of design.

As middlemen between the consumer on the one hand and the producer on the other, these great centers of trade can help materially in creating a more intelligent and selective demand while at the same time they are educating and encouraging manufacturers to make adequate response in the improved artistic quality of their products. We all may congratulate our-

selves that the leadership demonstrated by the Macy store last spring is to be followed this winter by several other stores in New York and other important centers, and our response as members of the buying public will be of invaluable help in putting American mass output on an artistic par with the better standards achieved by individual craftsmen and known only to the few.

#### *Beauty in Mass Production*

This matter of the manufacturing processes is fundamental to the whole movement. Handwork has always been considered as superior artistically to the products of any machine, yet one of the most important factors in this alleged superiority is quite foreign to the question of good design. That is the factor of rarity or exclusiveness. The human hand cannot repeat exactly, the machine cannot deviate. When the human hand creates a masterpiece of design, every attempt by that or any other human hand to reproduce the design will fail in some degree; indeed, the only constant of the hand is the fingerprint. But take this master design and feed it to a machine and the output remains constant through a myriad of operations. This may cheapen the product from the viewpoint of rarity but it enhances the

æsthetic influence of that particular design, if it is good in the model made for reproduction in quantity.

As this is being written the press is filled with congratulations on the design of the new Ford car. The famous Model T was renowned for its ugliness. Let us suppose that Mr. Ford had been subsidizing the world's greatest artist for the last five years merely to work out a design for the new car. The cost of that design would then be enormous. Croesus himself could hardly afford to order a car built to that design. But turn the specifications over to a series of machines, and long before they have reached their expected output the unit cost between a good design and a makeshift thing from some second-rater could hardly be measured by any known instrument of precision. And the enhancement of æsthetic enjoyment to this country would be immeasurably great.

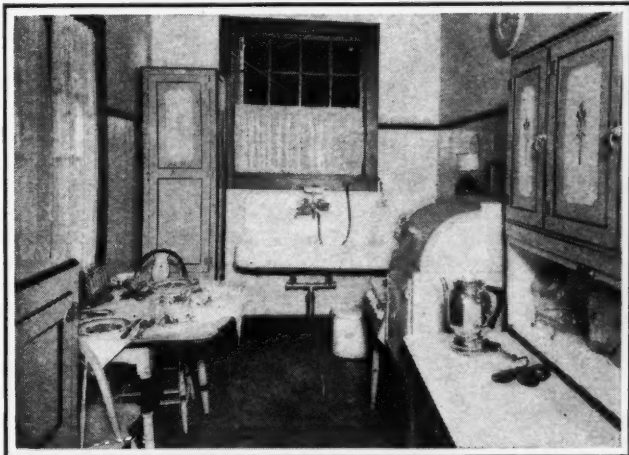
Big business has come to appreciate the cash value of research. Huge sums are spent on developing laboratories where distinguished scientists carry on experiments of no apparent relation to the products of their employers. The physical and chemical properties of these products are made thoroughly known, and constant thought is given to improving the selection of materials and the processes of manufacture. Thus capital is generously employed in answering half of a question of which part still is left begging. That is the matter of attractiveness to the eye and to the touch. It should be answered only in terms of artistic capacity on a par with that of the scientific energy which is put into making the product right. Here is no trifling matter of buying pretty sketches only to have them botched in the castings and on the lathes; it is a problem of hard study and thorough experimentation in finding out the exact capacities of the machines and the materials and then in working out the best possible designs under these limitations.

The artist who would serve mass production must descend from his

Olympian garret above the thundering elevated and set up his workshop in intimate proximity with the great machines which supplant his palette and his easel. In thus getting his feet on the ground his head may well reach such clouds as he had never visioned. For here, indeed, are broad horizons in creative work. As big business comes to recognize its dependence on the artist, it is to be sincerely hoped that the artist will be as quick to appreciate these wider opportunities for expression.

#### World-Wide Interest

It is difficult to find an appropriate name for this artistic development which we are discussing. Industrial art is not quite fair, but it may have to be used for lack of a better term. At any rate it escapes the inferiority implications involved in the tag-name *Kleine Kuenste* (small arts) under which I found the first displays of industrial art in a German art exhibition before the war. In France a stimulated interest in applied design first found vogue as *l'art nouveau*. But this movement had run to weed and into disrepute before the war, and it is significant that when the idea was revived after the war it was as the International Exposition of Modern Decorative and Industrial Art that the great Paris exhibition of 1925 was known. "Applied Art" is another term which has been very generally used.



COLOR AND THE KITCHEN

Why should a kitchen be drab and dreary? Why should it be glaringly white? Here is one of six suggestions by Wanamaker, the color scheme being red and grey. Not only walls and curtains carry out the color effect but also the cabinets, icebox, and table. Even the cooking utensils are red enamel ware.

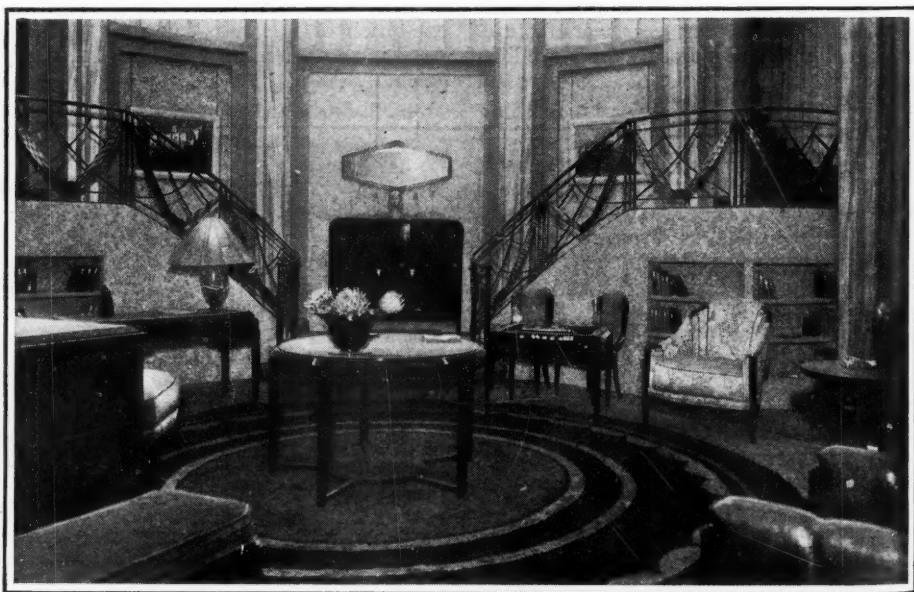
I think it is time really to name authoritatively the art that has been designed under these different terms, and if I were called upon to perform the ceremony I would decide on "Decorative and Industrial Art," thus following the precedent established by the French.

The Paris exhibition was a notable event from which two lessons of the greatest importance to America may be learned. In the first place France, with true Gallic courtesy, assigned the four chief sites in the exposition grounds (which extended along both banks of the Seine and across the Alexander III bridge) to her four major Allies in the war, and the United States declined its invitation because American manufacturers and craftsmen had little interest in an exhibition conceived in the modern spirit which animated the official specifications for exhibits.

The other noteworthy lesson is the part which the department stores of Paris play in the artistic life of the nation. Bon Marché, Galeries Lafayette, Louvre, and Printemps—each of these stores had its own pavilion in the exposition grounds, and each has had for the last ten years a special department offering all kinds of material

conceived in the modern spirit. The result has been most important commercially, because the modern movement has been popularized by bringing its productions within range of the average purse and thus permitting general participation in an artistic movement which has caught the spirit of the times.

In the light of this second lesson the leadership which the Macy department store in New York has assumed so successfully becomes of real interest to Americans, particularly as there are increasing evidences that other stores are planning to follow suit. As the primary sales outlet for the broad range of articles designed for every-day use and adornment, the department-store group exerts a profound influence on the sources of production. It is to be expected that the manufacturers will therefore take their cue from the demonstrated interest of these retail centers and will anticipate the trend towards design which will catch the spirit and rhythm of modern life. Such design, well done, is art in a real sense, and its availability to a wide range of purses is art on a broader and a higher plane than this country has as yet enjoyed.



THE INTERNATIONAL EXPOSITION OF MODERN DECORATIVE AND INDUSTRIAL ART

Held in 1925 in Paris, with the coöperation of leading department stores, it showed the post-war trend of the European conception of attractive and livable design. This picture shows an exhibit of Dumas furniture, the rounded shape of the room and its treatment deserving study.



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# Europe Headed for War?

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BY FRANK H. SIMONDS

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## *I. New Year Forebodings*

THE closing weeks of the year 1927 were marked by a rather surprising number of forecasts of evil. If the most alarming of all these several utterances was that of Lloyd George, who bluntly affirmed that Europe was headed straight for a new war, only less bitter possibilities have been envisaged by Nitti, former Italian Premier, and by Henri de Jouvenel and Lord Robert Cecil, whose recent resignations as representatives of France and Britain at Geneva aroused very wide comment.

Along with the forecasts of evil have also gone events which can hardly fail to give warrant for great apprehension, and must seem, in part at least, to confirm the words of the pessimists. Thus within Rumania a crisis precipitated by the death of the Dictator-Premier, Jon Bratianu, has been followed anxiously at all European capitals as the possible prelude to domestic revolution. Even graver has been the series of gestures at the other end of the Balkans, which culminated in the signing of one treaty of friendship between France and Yugoslavia and still another between Italy and Albania.

But while France and Italy have come into collision in the southeast of Europe, and in fact on the shores of the Adriatic, a crisis between Poland and Lithuania—or, rather, the accentuation of a crisis which has long endured—has brought Soviet Russia into the situation and aroused anxiety among all the group of new states along the Baltic seacoast extending from Memel to Helsingfors.

Coinciding with these political disturbances there has come, too, one more of the familiar declarations that Europe is again pushing its armaments to prewar altitudes, and the explicit statement that there are more men under arms to-day than in 1914.

In this last circumstance one can perceive how disastrous was the consequence of the failure of the preliminary con-

ference to consider disarmament, and of the Naval Conference itself.

Looking at the situation as a whole, then, must one accept the view which is derived from any cursory study of newspaper headlines? Is Europe in fact, at the moment when the tenth year of so-called peace is opening, moving straight toward another conflict? The outbreak of this is already fixed by many statisticians of disaster for 1935, which is the year when the Allied armies must quit German soil, and also the precise moment when the effect of the war years upon French birth-rate will bring the French crop of recruits down from 250,000 to 125,000.

Viewed calmly, the European situation does not lend itself to any absolute forecast either of good or evil. It is possible, if one chooses to isolate certain circumstances, to arrive at a very considerable degree of optimism. The picture is not by any means as black as one might conclude from sensational reports or the statements of public men, whose pessimism is in most cases accentuated by the fact they are now out of office and are speaking with that absence of objectivity which always marks the leaders of the opposition.

Thus, on the right side of the ledger one must put the fact that among three great peoples, whose rivalries were largely responsible for the World War, there is an equally dominant desire for peace. Among the British, French, and German peoples, as I have seen them recently in Europe, there is very little to choose in the popular desire and demand for peace.

I have been long in France and am writing from Great Britain. At Geneva, too, I met German statesmen of every camp. And in the words of the public men of all these countries there is the revelation of the same underlying demand for peace. They are politicians and they know what their peoples want.

Nor can one fail to see the fashion in which this want is disclosing itself. In England at the moment a Tory Government, with an overwhelming majority, finds itself exposed to deadly attacks from all sides because public opinion holds it responsible—partially if not uniquely—for the failure of the two Geneva conferences, or at least for failing to display either the skill or the industry which should have contributed mightily to avoiding both fiascos.

In France the situation is different only to a degree. The radical and socialist parties are making their bids for power on the open allegation that Poincaré, who could save the franc, could not make peace with Germany. And now that the franc is saved, the business of peace-making must be resumed. In Germany the decline of Nationalist strength is manifest in every election, and the advance of liberal and therefore peaceful and conciliatory men and groups is unmistakable.

Unless their own country were actually invaded, or threatened by a peril so enormous and so patent that no man could miss it, I do not believe the statesmen of Britain, France, or Germany could to-day lead their people into war. When one compares this state of mind with the conditions which prevailed not merely in 1914 but in all the years leading up to the catastrophe from the incident of Tangiers in 1905, the contrast is striking. Moreover, in any great crisis, I am sure the British, French, and German statesmen would work together wholeheartedly to maintain peace.

## II. The Danger

If the people in many countries, and notably in those countries which played the larger rôle in the World War, are demonstrably not merely peaceful but insistently pushing their governments toward international coöperation; if the smaller countries have a new opportunity to lend their weight to the preservation of peace; if, finally, despite all allegations, European armies and armaments are not mounting, is the danger of war inconsiderable or at worst excessively magnified?

No, one cannot say that. It is true, as I pointed out last month, that Europe is on the verge of general elections, and it is an obvious course for the opposition to exaggerate the failures of the parties in power.

Again, it is necessary to perceive that the League of Nations has provided a means by which the influence of small countries can make itself felt; and in any European crisis the voices of the Belgian, Dutch, Scandinavian, and Swiss statesmen would be heard effectively. For, in all these countries, the desire and the demand for peace is not less than in the greater nations referred to.

Finally, whatever one may say of the issues which arouse passions and provoke quarrels within and without many other states, there is nothing to suggest that any people desires war. It is not even true that Europe is deliberately increasing its armies and its fleets against a war which it deems inevitable and imminent.

On the contrary, despite the charges of Lloyd George, the standing armies of Europe are to-day materially smaller than in 1914. Great Britain has increased the size of her land forces by adding a flying force, but she has reduced the number of her sailors correspondingly. The French army has been reduced a quarter and is still being cut down, military service having been shortened from three years to one year. Italy has not increased the number of her standing army. The German army has well-nigh disappeared. Even the Soviet forces are less than those of Czarist Russia. In fact, the increase in armies is confined to those Succession States, which were created or expanded by the war; and this expansion is in part normal and in part due to the peculiar dangers to which these States have felt themselves exposed.

Thus for the next twelve months we Americans must be on our guard to discriminate between what is real and what is propaganda in public utterances. And this is particularly true in the case of Lloyd George and Nitti, equally lacking in real influence in their own countries.

Nevertheless, when all is said and done to establish the bases of optimism, I do not see any escape from the conclusion that Europe is moving toward another catastrophe. And it is moving in that direction because, so far, it has proven impossible to accomplish anything in adjusting the complicated tangle of disputes which divide nations. It might almost be said, by paradox, that of the greatest contributions

to the existing dangers of war is the fear of war among many peoples.

Europe is not marching toward a new conflict because European peoples prefer war to peace or fail to perceive that in a new war there could be no victor and only universal disaster. It is not moving to a new Armageddon because, as is even more frequently charged, the peace treaties of 1919 created impossible frontiers and did intolerable wrong to certain peoples.

Actually the profoundest obstacle to any real European pacification lies in the fact that there is no national solution for those problems which are the main causes of danger. The worst evils growing out of transfers of territory after the World War are not soluble by any simple retransfer of territory, because so mixed and mingled are the populations that it is not possible to draw frontiers based upon justice. To redraw the most contested lines would be no more than to satisfy one claimant and transfer to the other the sense of wrong and injustice.

The Polish Corridor, one of the most challenged of all creations of the treaty of Paris, does divide Germans and destroy the unity of the Reich. But to return it to Germany would be to deny Poland access to the sea and deliver almost a million Slavs over to German rule again. To restore Hungary, which was before 1914 a perfect economic and geographical unit, would be to retransfer millions of Rumanians, Slovaks, and Serbs to Magyar rule, against which they have rebelled increasingly for two generations.

Take the Italian case: At bottom the trouble lies in the fact that Italy is an overpopulated country with few natural resources but with an industrious peasantry which might easily colonize many empty regions, create markets for Italian goods, and contribute to Italian prosperity and greatness. But from whom shall these lands be taken? Would Britain, France, or any South American republic resign colonies or provinces to Italy?

Europe is drifting toward war, in my judgment, not because any people wants war, but because many peoples demand a justice, which to precisely as many other races would seem the extreme of injustice. There are at least a hundred million people in Europe to-day who are resolved not to accept the territorial and political conditions which exist, because to them they

seem to deny rights which are inalienable. But there are another hundred million equally determined not to surrender rights which they believe founded upon immanent justice.

Those nations which have, are resolved to hold; those which have not, are determined to regain. But those which hold, conscious of the menace to them inherent in the determination of their neighbors, are dominated by a sense of insecurity and their policy is dictated by considerations of safety. Moreover, inevitably all the nations which have and mean to hold, turn to each other. There is the same community of interest in defending the whole *status quo* of Europe. And thus, ineluctably, one sees taking form again those combinations and alliances which produce a situation where a shot fired in Albania may set a whole continent on fire.

In the United States we talk about peace and war with the certainty that all sane human beings, both for moral and material reasons, must prefer peace. And that is true in the United States. But in Europe the question is rarely so simple. The German wants peace as much as the Frenchman, but peace as it exists at the moment, while assuring to the Frenchman the maximum of his desires, means for the Germans the perpetuation of a condition in which his country remains, to his mind, mutilated, its unity abolished, and many millions of German people subjected to alien rule.

But if the German were to get back his lost provinces and incorporate the Germans of Austria and Czechoslovakia into the Reich, he could only do so by mutilating Poland and Czechoslovakia. When he had accomplished this, he would outnumber the French in population two to one, and might then turn back to resume his western push to the Channel and to the Vosges. To prevent such a danger, France guarantees the integrity of Czechoslovakia and Poland. But by this act the security of France becomes dependent upon the integrity of Poland and Czechoslovakia, and France is not merely aligned against the German people, but plunged into all the whirlpool of Balkanized central Europe and thrown against Bolshevik Russia.

This process expands unceasingly. Czechoslovakia, the ally of France, is also the ally of Rumania, as is Poland. But Rumania and Czechoslovakia, with Jugoslavia, make up the Little Entente, created to restrain

Hungary's aspirations to recover lost territories. Thus inevitably France is brought to alliances with Yugoslavia and Rumania, equally interested with France in preserving things as they are. But Yugoslavia and Italy are deadly rivals on all the Adriatic; and French support of Yugoslavia, or even the appearance of support, satisfies Rome that Paris is engaged in pushing the Southern Slavs against Italy.

Italy retaliates by alliances with Albania, with Hungary. She encourages the Bulgarian elements who will never remain acquiescent while Yugoslavia holds Macedonia. She presses the Greeks to refuse to come to terms with the Slavs over the port of Salonica. Finally, she answers French activities in the Adriatic by sending a fleet to Tangier to serve notice that in Morocco, the field of intense French colonial activity, Italy must be consulted.

Thus, to-day, one arrives again at a situation in many details recalling that of 1914. An insignificant border quarrel between Albanian and Serb irregulars, in one of the wildest and most lawless corners of Europe, might, at least conceivably, bring Italy and France to war; and that war could involve, not merely Yugoslavia, but Rumania and Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and

Greece. And assuming that Germany remained neutral, in so far as France and Italy were concerned, what could prevent her seeking to suppress the Corridor and thus embarking upon a war with Poland, which in turn would spread along the Baltic and provide the Bolsheviks with a heaven-sent opportunity on the Dniester and the Niemen alike?

Exaggerate the gravity of the danger or minimize it, the fact of the fragility of the whole edifice of peace in Europe cannot be gainsaid. The system is at the mercy of any accident. There is no longer the relatively simple issue between France and Germany, which is diminishing. There are no longer the misunderstandings between France and Italy, which, if more serious, are not necessarily immutable. But here are these poolings of interests, this trustification of grievances and dangers, with the result that the peace of Europe may one day be imperiled because of some incident along the Drin valley, some shooting in an inn in Dibra or Ochidra. I agree that in present time this is an extreme illustration. I believe to-day the danger would be avoided in the final moment; but there it is. In fact, so far from diminishing, it grows week by week.

### *III. The League and the Peril*

"But there is always the League of Nations," many American and some European observers will say. "Here at least is something new which did not exist in 1914." Unquestionably this is true, and I have already said that I believe that not merely Britain, France, and Germany, but many smaller nations, would combine to act through the Geneva machine for peace.

Nevertheless, the profound weakness of the League lies in the fact that it is, itself, no more than an instrument. At Geneva, as our American delegates to the preliminary disarmament conference will remember, the various votes disclose the alignments of nations. France, Poland, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Rumania are usually to be found standing together, and Belgium as well. In any crisis which involved Yugoslavia, the stand of all these countries would be determined in advance.

Moreover, so great has been French influence within the League in the past that the Italians look upon it rather as an enemy

than as a seat of justice. To be sure, they might rally the Hungarian, the Bulgarian, and the Albanian; they might even enlist German support, although that would be more difficult. This would be no more than to divide the League as Europe is already divided. And in any adverse decision of the League, Italy would detect not the voice of justice but the hand of France.

Given the present public sentiment in Britain, France, and Germany, I believe that the three nations would stand together to prevent any war between Yugoslavia and Italy. But would Germany, if to-morrow it had a clear nationalist majority in the Reichstag, look with disapprobation upon a disturbance which could open the way to German recovery of the Polish Corridor, to the union with Austria, and to the end of the occupation of the Rhineland? These results might all follow if France became involved in the Adriatic conflict.

In reality the present crisis in European affairs, the unmistakable arrest of the im-



pulse toward pacification, the patent accentuation of differences between peoples, is after all repeated within the League itself. It is, not impossibly, due to the halt in the development of the League which has taken place in the last two years, in fact, beginning with the March session in 1926, when the Germans were not admitted.

The crisis in the League situation has been emphasized by many public men and journals in the weeks since the meeting of the Assembly in September, which I described in this periodical. Lord Robert Cecil in Britain and Henri de Jouvenel in France have resigned from office to call attention to the situation. Both in France and in Great Britain one can detect a very considerable popular demand for some new effort to give vitality to the League as a force for peace.

But it would be idle to disguise the fact that these national impulses are closely joined to others, which make for a perpetuation of the paralysis. The British people want peace without responsibility for maintaining it. The French want peace, but peace based upon the preservation of that system of interlocking alliances which they have stretched from Paris to Bucharest. The Germans want peace, but one providing for the revision of those details in the peace treaties which they regard as unjust and intolerable. All three peoples would seek to make the League machinery available for these diverse purposes. The Italians reject the League altogether, because in it they see an instrument calculated if not designed to suffocate all their aspirations.

Beyond question Europe is becoming increasingly conscious of the perils of present tendencies. What is lacking is evidence of any power for effective coöperation to organize larger European solidarity. The diseases due to conflicting nationalisms are becoming chronic and constitutional. Peoples are once more settling down to the fixed condition that they have certain enemies who cannot be reconciled. And as a result the multiplication of treaties of alliances goes on.

In themselves the treaties are innocent of any aggressive content. They are styled treaties of friendship and drafted in the best style of the League. Yet, as we have seen, two treaties of friendship—one between Italy and Albania and the other

between France and Yugoslavia—have been sufficient to set all Europe to talking in terms of the prewar era.

Not militarism, not imperialism, but quite plainly a nationalism which in its essence is irreconcilable with permanent peace, is driving Europe down the pathway the end of which is unmistakable. Thus if the immediate condition is far from being critical, if conflict between nations is to-day utterly unlikely, one is nevertheless forced to the conclusion that while Europe is still talking of new Locarnos, it is infallibly preparing another Serajevo.

Personally, without being an alarmist, I confess to greater pessimism than at any time since 1922, that is, on the eve of the occupation of the Ruhr. That catastrophe, disastrous as it was at the moment, did have certain very good results. It led to the Dawes plan and to Locarno. Conceivably some other and equally poignant lesson will be needed to bring about a new step toward conciliation.

But to-day Europe is paralyzed by discordant nationalisms, none of them expressing a real or latent desire for war on the part of any people, but all disclosing purposes which cannot be realized without war, and disturbed by a series of events that show the tenacity with which these purposes are adhered to by millions of people. In this state of things disarmament is out of the question, because the sense of insecurity is general and growing. As for revision of the peace treaties, not only is this impossible, but could it be achieved it would reconcile the dissatisfied only to arouse those who are at the moment content.

Moreover, particularly in Great Britain, one is conscious of the growth of a certain sense of hopelessness, a sort of despair with respect of the entire European mess, an increasing demand that the Government keep out of the fatal whirlpool. Yet it is just as clear that with Great Britain out, progress is impossible, for the war has made Britain far more completely European than before 1914.

In sum, Europe opens a new year with very acute perception that something must be done to check tendencies which are not mistaken, but with no present conception of how anything can be done and with fear that the whole thing is hopeless. Few wise people expect war to-morrow or next year, but almost as many see in the march of events the promise of eventual collision.

## IV. Franco-Italian Questions

Turning now to specific issues which have in recent weeks aroused general comment and apprehension, it is clear that the most serious is that which centers on the Adriatic. The rise of Yugoslavia has been for Italy one of the great illusions of the war. Italian entrance into the war was the result of many wholly different circumstances, but underneath all lay the double desire to complete the unification of the nation by the recovery of the Trentino and Trieste, together with the wish to see the destruction of that Hapsburg Empire which for all the years following the French Revolution had prevented Italian unity and threatened Italian development.

But in the Italian mind there was no prevision of the possible rise on the ruins of Austria of a new and vigorous Slav state, which would successfully challenge Italian claims to Dalmatia, and only less annoyingly contest the claims of Italy to Fiume and even to Trieste itself. When the Yugoslavs appeared at the Paris Conference, demanding vast territories on the eastern shore of the Adriatic, Italian resentment was immediate. When these claims found support not merely with President Wilson but with British and French statesmen, Italian anger knew no bounds.

War between Yugoslavia and Italy over Fiume was escaped only by a narrow margin. With the first days of the Fascist régime, Mussolini undertook to reverse the course of events and by the Treaty of Rapallo arrived at a temporary settlement with his Slav neighbors. But the appeasement was only short-lived. As Italian policy sought more and more to establish a sort of hegemony in the Balkans, the Yugoslavs disclosed their hostility.

What was the more disturbing was the fact that Yugoslavia, like all the other countries of the Little Entente, tended to merge its foreign policy with that of France. Thus, Rumania, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, with Poland and Belgium, were gradually fused into a bloc which acted together and in all Balkan questions tended to oppose Italian desires.

For the rise and development of the new Slav state, Italy blamed France. During two or three years, however, Italian policy sought to detach the Little Entente from France, and for a moment during the

cabinet of General Averescu in Rumania it seemed fairly successful. But Averescu failed, Bratianu returned, and French influence again became supreme in Bucharest.

In this situation Mussolini turned from efforts of conciliation and maneuvering to direct action. Dropping his efforts to detach the Little Entente from France, he undertook to set up an Italian group of powers including Hungary, Bulgaria, and Albania. Even at Athens, Italian diplomacy was active in seeking to prevent Greco-Yugoslav combination.

The base of all Italian operations in this new campaign was Albania. This small and incoherent state, created before the World War because of the impossibility of reconciling the claims of Serbia and Austria on the one side and those of Greece and Italy on the other, has long been regarded by the Serbs as a barrier to their free approach to the Adriatic through the Drin valley, the single possible railway route. At the time of the Balkan War, Serbia and Greece had even agreed in advance to divide Albania between them.

For Italy, Albania has something of the importance of Belgium for Great Britain. Thus Italian policy has more and more been directed toward the transformation of Albania into an Italian protectorate. This purpose was finally realized in the treaty of Tirana last spring. But making Albania an Italian protectorate has not only aroused Serb resentment, but inevitably tended to multiply the border incidents in all the remote and wild region where Albanian and Serb territories join.

Single-handed, Yugoslavia is too weak to venture to oppose Italy openly and without limit. But as Franco-Italian relations have become embittered, Yugoslavia has more and more turned to France for encouragement. Nor have the French been slow to perceive that in case of any actual conflict with Italy, the assistance of a Slav army, which would compel Italy to fight a war of two fronts, would be invaluable. Thus a treaty of friendship between France and Yugoslavia had long been awaiting signature, but the French delayed the signing in the hope of an improvement of Franco-Italian relations.

When recently the Italians sent their fleet to Tangier, thus making what could

not be other than a hostile gesture, the French hesitated no longer. They at once arranged the signing of the Yugoslav treaty. To this the Italians promptly responded by a new treaty with Albania guaranteeing her integrity.

To-day the situation is clear. France and Italy are divided by feelings hardly less bitter than those which separated France and Germany before the World War. Italy feels that France is seeking in all directions to restrict Italian influence. Holding Tunis, Algeria, and Morocco, and thus blocking Italian expansion in Africa, France is thus felt to be encouraging Slav aspirations in the Adriatic, which can only put effective limit to Italian influence in the Balkans and even compromise Italian security in the Adriatic.

France, on the other hand, regards present Italian purposes as full of menace for her-

self. Only last winter she felt constrained to move an army corps to the Alpes Maritimes, to forestall a rumored *coup de main* by the Fascists to seize Nice. She has similarly reinforced her garrisons in North Africa; and, like Italy, she is concentrating her energies upon bringing her fleet up to the mark.

In the present situation, it is possible to exclude war from the calculations of either the French or Italian governments. For both countries it would be an unlimited disaster. In any open dispute between Paris and Rome one can count upon ultimate adjustment by diplomatic means. What is less reassuring is that the hands of both countries may be forced by some incident in the Albanian wilderness. Moreover, while Italy and France stand in open opposition in the Balkans, any real adjustment in that stormy region is impossible.

## V. Rumania and Lithuania

Of the Rumanian and Lithuanian difficulties it is possible to speak with less anxiety. In Rumania the death of Jon Bratianu has removed a great figure who has not ineptly been compared to Richelieu. More than any one man, this "uncrowned king" of Rumania had been responsible for expanding his country to the size of Italy. But he ruled with a heavy hand and had shown himself increasingly unwilling to heed advice or display moderation.

The result has been the development of an opposition which, while it has seemed to rally to the claims of the Prince Carol—who, having resigned his succession to the Crown in discreditable circumstances, seeks now to reassert it—has, in fact, been far more anti-Bratianu than pro-Carol.

My Rumanian friends in London tell me that the death of Bratianu may well abolish the evident dangers of the situation. The men who follow and will control, Bratianu's brother and Titulescu, the Foreign Minister (who will be remembered in Washington as having negotiated the debt settlement), will be bound to make concessions to the opposition, to resort to those conciliatory methods which Jon Bratianu, relying upon his complete mastery of the country, felt unnecessary. Thus the domestic quarrel may be adjusted, and with this adjustment the dynastic issue will lose its importance.

Any real upheaval in Rumania would have a double danger. On one side, it might encourage the Bolsheviks to undertake to reconquer Bessarabia and to exploit the Rumanian disorder to establish a Soviet state. On the other, the Hungarians might be moved to seek to recover Transylvania and the Banat. Such an adventure would certainly lead Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia to intervene, since both hold lands alike vehemently claimed by the Magyars.

But if Yugoslavia moved against Hungary, Italy would hardly remain quiescent, while Czech action would carry the disturbance to the boundaries of Germany itself. On the other hand, if Russia attacked Rumania, Poland is bound by a treaty of alliance to come to the aid of Rumania; and France is an ally of Poland.

In a sense, the dispute between Poland and Lithuania is less serious. For centuries they were joined in a single state under a Lithuanian dynasty. Polish was, and remains, the language of the educated classes in Kovno and Vilna, quite as much as in Warsaw. The work of setting the Lithuanians and the Poles against each other was begun by the Russians after the partition of Poland. It was continued for obvious reasons by the Germans during and after the war.

The frontiers between Poland and Lithuania were fixed at the Peace Conference,

but not those between Russia and Lithuania or Russia and Poland. Vilna, a city predominately Polish, but actually only an island in the midst of a sea of rural Lithuanian inhabitants, was claimed alike by the Poles and by the Lithuanians, the latter wishing to make it their capital. When, in 1920, the Russians invaded Poland and almost reached Warsaw, they were welcomed by the Lithuanians as allies.

When the Russian invasion collapsed and the Bolsheviks fled, they endeavored to turn Vilna over to the Lithuanians and made a treaty fixing the frontiers between Russia and Lithuania in this sense. But the Poles, having driven the Russians out of all the border lands, seized Vilna and have held it ever since, and the Polish title was acquiesced in by the great powers.

Lithuania has, however, never accepted this situation. For many years a state of technical war has existed between Poland and Lithuania, and the whole movement of passengers and transport between the two countries has been permanently paralyzed. In addition there have been many border incidents and within the two countries Polish and Lithuanian minorities have been equally discriminated against.

The latest crisis seems to have arisen over the determination of Poland to clear up the situation by bringing it before the League. The Lithuanians, on their side, have protested that the Poles were planning to invade Lithuania, headed by Pilsudski, the Polish dictator, who is himself a native of Lithuania. Finally, the Bolsheviks have complicated the situation by addressing a warning note to Warsaw, evidently seeking to give the impression that the Poles were menacing the peace of the Baltic world and that Russia was acting as the champion of peace and order in this region.

At bottom Russian policy is comprehended in the desire to weaken Poland, which, as the ally of France and increasingly the field of American and British investment, is becoming a barrier to the expansion of Bolshevism in the west. Germany, also interested, has a double possibility of action. Desirous of regaining the Corridor, Upper Silesia, and Danzig, the Germans welcome anything which may weaken Poland. But, on the other hand, not a few Germans have suggested that the solution of the Corridor problem might be found in permitting Poland to absorb Lithuania, thus gaining the harbor of Memel and access to the sea.

In return Poland would be expected to cede the Corridor and agree to the German annexation of Danzig.

Such a solution finds little favor with the Poles, because it would involve turning over nearly a million Slavs to German rule and would deprive them of access to the sea by the valley of the Vistula, which is the natural outlet of the greater part of Poland. Moreover, not a few Germans are opposed to this adjustment because they regard Memel as a German city.

It is manifest that a situation in which technical war endures and all normal economic relations are paralyzed cannot remain permanently, and while it continues it must imperil the whole process of Baltic adjustment. As a practical question, there is not the smallest possibility that Poland will relinquish possession of Vilna, which is an old seat of Polish culture and is itself Polish in population. Any possible solution must be predicated upon Lithuanian recognition of Polish title.

It is highly unlikely that, given present conditions, the Poles would attempt any aggression against Lithuania. But obviously the bitterness engendered here offers an admirable opportunity both for German and Russian intrigue. As for Lithuania, it is itself more or less of an unreal creation, which in recent times has been passing through difficult domestic political crises. Whether any one of the three small Baltic states—Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania—can survive when Russia again becomes a strong state, is open to doubt.

In any event, the three disputes which I have discussed supply sufficient evidence for the doubt and anxiety with which Europe begins the tenth year since the termination of the fighting in the World War.

Mr. Simonds wrote these chapters in Europe early in December. Later—on the 10th of the month—the dispute between Poland and Lithuania came before the Council of the League. The forceful Marshal Pilsudski, Dictator of Poland, had come to Geneva and met there Premier Waldemar of Lithuania. Across the conference table Pilsudski asked abruptly: "Is it peace or war?" And the Lithuanian replied: "It is peace." Pilsudski returned immediately to Warsaw, leaving the details to be worked out by his Foreign Minister. The settlement was hailed as a triumph for the League.—THE EDITOR.



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# New York's Bludgeon Law

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BY LUTHER SHEELEIGH CRESSMAN

(Department of Sociology, College of the City of New York)

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FROM the Dark Ages until the nineteenth century the gibbeted corpse, hanging by the roadside, swaying in the wind with a clanking of chains, was a grim warning to the lawbreakers of England. Some two hundred offenses ranging from picking pockets to high treason carried the death penalty as punishment. The idea was, of course, that the gruesome sight would deter others from crime.

This ancient philosophy of punishment, this bludgeon method of preventing crime, has recently been revived in New York State.

When the American colonies gained their independence, they threw aside the English penal code with its gibbets. Already the Quakers of Pennsylvania had discarded the death penalty for all offenses except murder, and tried rather to reform the criminal. This reforming method soon spread to other States, and from it grew the penal codes of America.

The Baumes Laws of New York State, with their mandatory provision of life imprisonment for fourth felonious offenders, is the sign of a return to the bludgeon method. This provision is but one of a large number of recommendations made by the Baumes Commission, which was appointed in 1926 to put sharper teeth into New York's criminal law. For the most part the changes it recommended were needed reforms, speeding up trials and making justice more certain. But in its eagerness to reduce crime the Legislature seems to have overreached itself, and to have reverted to obsolete methods.

New York is not alone in this. Its mandatory provision is merely the most striking development of a general tendency, for West Virginia also imposes life imprisonment for habitual offenders, and Massachusetts and New Jersey are considering similar laws. Two western States, Michigan and California, now have Baumes Laws, and

judging from speeches in various State Legislatures, the inclination toward harsher laws is being widely felt.

The mandatory section of the Baumes Laws reads as follows:

Punishment for fourth conviction of felony. A person who, after having been three times convicted within this State of felonies or of attempt to commit felonies, or under the law of any other State government or country of crimes which if committed within this State would be felonious, commits a felony within this State, shall be sentenced upon conviction of such fourth, or subsequent offense to imprisonment in a State prison for the term of his natural life. A person to be punishable under this and the preceding section need not have been indicted and convicted as a previous offender in order to receive the increased punishment therein provided. . . .

It can be shown, I think, that this law goes too far. It is the experience of England, as well as of America, that an extreme law defeats its own end by its harshness.

## *When the Death Penalty Was Common*

The English Parliament of the eighteenth century legislated blindly, almost hysterically, against crimes which resulted naturally from social forces which had been at work for many years. It left untouched causes of crime like the social and economic upheavals following the civil wars and the enclosure system. Holding firmly to the belief that severe laws would deter potential criminals, it kept on passing repressive legislation. Blackstone estimated in 1770 that there were one hundred and sixty capital offenses; and by the end of the century there were a full two hundred.

The hitch came when numerous complaints were made by officials that victims refused to report thefts. It came to be common that good citizens shielded suspects from arrest, on the ground that the punishment was too severe. The statement that severe punishment for small offenses was preventing many victims from prosecuting those who robbed them occurs again

and again in Parliamentary speeches and journals of the period.

Thus the Earl of Suffolk, speaking in Parliament in favor of Sir Samuel Romilly's bill amending the penal code more than a hundred years ago, said: "I am more thoroughly induced to give it my support upon the particular argument urged by my noble friend, namely that the excess of punishment deters the innocent from prosecuting the guilty. My lords, I cannot doubt the truth of this argument, for I am myself an humble instance of its force."

#### *Nullifying a Harsh Law*

He went on to tell how he had once left his town house in charge of an old and trusted servant. On his return he found that the servant had made off with much plate and other property. Had he reported the theft, he would have had to appear in court against her, and become the means of her conviction. That would have meant death.

"My lords, humanity triumphed over justice and public duty," continued the Earl. "I was constrained to turn loose upon the public an individual certainly deserving of punishment, because the law of the land gave me no opportunity of visiting her with a castigation short of death."

There is plenty of evidence showing that trial judges, in delivering charges to juries in this time, were strongly antagonistic to the laws they were called on to administer. They felt them too severe, and did not hesitate to say so. By directing verdicts that would not require a death penalty they became, not impartial arbiters, but judge and jury at once. If a verdict permitted two penalties, the judge would usually assign the lesser, as being more in keeping with the public conscience.

There is a case on record of a woman accused of stealing. As she stood before the bench and heard the verdict of "Guilty" she fainted. The judge leaped to his feet, crying, "My God, won't somebody tell her that I shall not sentence her to death! Tell her, tell her, somebody!" Her theft had amounted to five shillings.

It should be recalled that "stealing goods to the value of five shillings privately" from a house, or goods to the value of one shilling and farthing from a person, were capital felonies. Sir Samuel Romilly said in 1811 that ever since the passage of these acts, juries had been finding the accused guilty of stealing goods of less value than

had been clearly proved. To avoid a verdict carrying the death penalty, jurymen and witnesses so frequently violated their oaths that the practise became an accepted custom, which Blackstone approvingly called pious perjury.

The casuistry to which they were driven to give a verdict in keeping with their feelings is illustrated by some of the cases of the period:

"Elizabeth Hobbs was tried in September, 1732, for stealing in a dwelling house one broad piece, two guineas, two half-guineas, and forty-four shillings in money. She confessed the fact and the jury found her guilty, but found the money stolen was worth only thirty-nine shillings."

"So late as in December, 1808, a woman of the name of Bridget Mackallister was indicted at the Old Bailey for stealing a ten-pound Bank of England note in a dwelling house. The fact was clearly proved, and the jury convicted the prisoner, but found upon their oaths that the banknote was of the value of only thirty-nine shillings." [Less than two pounds.]

So much for the experience of England.

#### *Was There a Crime Wave?*

In America crime has been caused by periodic unemployment, a rapidly changing industrial system, a great heterogeneity of population with widely different standards of behavior, and by lack of a consistent national or community program of assimilation. It is the opinion of unbiased students that there has been no appreciable increase in the general volume of crime. But in spite of their statements we have heard much talk of crime waves. Following the demobilization of the American Expeditionary Force, the press of the country began to carry many columns devoted to crime. No one is sure to this day that there was an actual high tide of crime. But there was much talk of one, and the demand naturally followed that "something be done about it." Following the example of England more than a century and a half ago, legislatures have started to take "appropriate action" by legislating against the crimes and ignoring their causes.

In New York State this brought into being the life-sentence provision of the Baumes Laws, which, like the old English laws, are concerned largely with crimes against property. The life-sentence provision lumps together, as though cut from

the same block, all fourth felonious offenders. It does not matter whether they are paranoiacs with homicidal tendencies or celebrants of pay-day who, after drinking too much gin, go joy-riding in a borrowed car. The differences in personalities of the accused are not considered. They have broken a law for the fourth time, and that puts an earmark upon them.

#### *To Prison for Life*

It has been the practice of American courts to speed up the handling of cases by accepting a plea of guilty for a less serious offense than that charged, thereby avoiding the time and expense of a jury trial. Thus a person who might really be a fourth or fifth offender would be offered the opportunity of pleading guilty as a first offender, and receive a shorter sentence. But the new law provides that regardless of whether the accused has been convicted as a first, second, or third offender, if the prison records show him to have been convicted three times previously for any offense or for different ones, he must be returned to the court of his conviction to be resentenced for life. Such is the now famous mandatory provision of life sentence for a fourth felony.

It is necessary to recall what constitutes a felony to appreciate fully the harshness of this law. In English common law a felony was any act for which the offender might be deprived of life or property. But in the United States to-day an act is classed as a felony or a misdemeanor by the statute which forbids the act. For example, the Mullan-Gage Prohibition enforcement law of New York State made violation of its provisions a felony. Again, for eight months after the Baumes Laws became effective, stealing more than \$50 made one a felon, whereas stealing \$49 was only a misdemeanor. The last session of the Assembly raised the amount necessary to make a theft a felony to \$100. This shows how artificial is the distinction between a misdemeanor and a felony. In Massachusetts a felony is defined as a crime that is punishable by commitment in State's prison, which is in general the practice throughout the United States.

The report of the Baumes Commission showed that it regarded the classification of crimes largely as a technique for speeding up the judicial machinery. The first criticism of this method of classification is

that it catalogs the offense but ignores the person who committed it. It is a legalistic point of view which creates a formal situation by fiat of legislature, and then asserts that because some one happens to have fallen into that situation that is all that need be known about him. Under it a man may be sentenced to prison for life because of a shifting artificial classification of acts. Few of us object to a life sentence for some of the criminals sentenced under the present law; but a great many do object to sentencing a prisoner to life imprisonment for violating some law when there is no clear reason for shutting him up in jail until he dies.

#### *Judges Who Object*

The Baumes Laws have been in force only since July 1, 1926, and cases did not start coming into court until the September following. Hence there is not much to offer as evidence; but there are enough cases to show the direction in which the attitude toward this law is developing.

A number of judges of New York City have expressed themselves in interviews and in passing sentences upon prisoners. Judges in our criminal courts may not charge the jury in a way that will influence its verdict, but Judge George W. Martin of Kings County is reported as refusing to comply with the mandatory provisions of the Baumes Laws as early as November, 1926, saying, "I am unwilling to believe that the Baumes Laws should be interpreted to defeat their own purpose by substituting injustice for justice." County Judge Franklin Taylor, of Brooklyn, sentenced one convicted man to three years. When it was found in due order that this was his fourth offense, Judge Taylor refused to resentence him for life.

Judge William Allen of General Sessions is reported to have said, when he passed sentence of life imprisonment upon a prisoner for stealing a ride in a borrowed taxicab: "You may be what is termed an habitual criminal, but you do not seem to be of vicious nature. You are not a hold-up man. I am sorry I am compelled at this time to revoke the previous sentence I imposed and resentence you under sections 1942 and 1943 of the penal law known as the Baumes Laws."

The press reported Judge Cornelius F. Collins of General Sessions, in sentencing a man twenty-seven years of age to life

imprisonment, to have said: "I am asked to do a thing unconscionable from the standpoint of sociology, but the law is mandatory upon me. The only sentence I can impose under the Baumes Laws is to send this young man to prison for the rest of his natural life."

On April 27 Judge Collins was again reported to have sentenced a prisoner to life imprisonment under this law. As he passed sentence he is quoted as having said: "You are more of a fool than a knave. If the door had been ajar you could not have been sent to the penitentiary for more than three years, since the offense of unlawful entry is only a misdemeanor. The turning of a door knob was what constituted a felony. You just can't keep out of trouble, and I must give you life. This is unfair but it is the law. . . . It happens to fall under the classifications of the Baumes Laws, passed in the hysteria over a crime wave."

#### *Juries that Refuse to Convict*

The evidence in regard to the attitude of juries is again limited, for there have not been submitted to juries many cases falling under this law. There have been several convictions, but the feeling exists that the accused is being punished for all his crimes or his reputation, rather than the offense charged—an exact parallel to the former situation in England. There are, however, four cases which show how juries avoid doing what they feel is unjustified.

The first is that of a prisoner in Brooklyn accused of forging a taxicab driver's license to secure a chauffeur's job. Since he was an ex-convict he could not have secured a license from the police bureau. It was shown that since his release in 1914 his life had been exemplary. He is now married and the father of two children. Conviction would have meant life imprisonment. In spite of indisputable evidence, the jury after four and a half hours of deliberation found the prisoner not guilty.

The second case is that of a driver for a

coal and ice company of Manhattan. Upon order of a higher court the prisoner was produced before Judge Taylor to be resented for life instead of three years. But Judge Taylor had decided that it was necessary to impanel a jury to determine whether the prisoner was a fourth offender. In the face of unmistakable evidence, the jury decided upon its oath that the prisoner was a first offender.

Two other cases in which juries refused to convict the accused as fourth offenders, in spite of their absolute identification as criminals with records of three previous felonies, have been reported to the press by District Attorney Banton. One prisoner was sentenced to ten years, and the other to from twenty to forty years.

#### *A Penalty Too Severe*

A single year is too short to test any social experiment. But the Baumes Law provision for life imprisonment runs counter to the whole American tradition, which has emphasized the need of studying and treating the criminal rather than his crime. Moreover, it has been tested, in a way, and found wanting, for the English experience of the eighteenth century is a check by which to measure it. After a year we find our own experience forming a parallel with what happened in England. There are indications that our people, too, refuse to prosecute because they believe the penalty too severe; that judges refuse to sentence, or pass sentence under protest; and that juries refuse to convict in the face of unmistakable evidence, or at least find the accused guilty of a less serious crime than the one charged. Perhaps we too shall have a jury like that old English one which found that a stolen fifty-dollar bill was worth only ten dollars. Like the English, we shall probably find ourselves in a blind alley from which severe laws will not lead us.

The only way out will be to return to the way from which we have strayed, the scientific study of the criminal.

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[A recent instance tending to prove Mr. Cressman's argument occurred on October 26, when Judge Donellan of the General Sessions, on the recommendation of the District Attorney, allowed Mrs. Marion Hackett, 25, to plead guilty to a misdemeanor instead of forgery, a felony. This was her fourth offense. Had she been found guilty of a felony, she would have been sentenced to imprisonment for life under the Baumes Laws, while the maximum penalty for a misdemeanor is three years. Both the District Attorney and the Judge said that they did not believe the Legislature meant the life-term to apply to this kind of case.—THE EDITOR.]



# Leading Articles

Peace ~ Social Problems ~ Adventure ~ Business

## America Reënters the Battle for Peace

FOR centuries man has thought and talked about ending war. In the last hundred and twenty-five years he has not only talked, but acted. In this action the United States was a leader. Indeed this country went into the World War to wipe out all war; for whatever material inducements, the people as a whole considered the war a purgatory on the road to peace. But they have found that war does not end war; and in peace-time organization for permanent peace they have never—yet—gone far enough.

"In all our previous aspiration toward peace, we have never given serious thought to the gravest, most difficult of all political problems, how actually to get rid of war as an instrument of policy, and of that vast machinery of mutual destruction which in the name of defense has served the purpose of aggressive war." Thus writes in the *Rotarian* Prof. James T. Shotwell

of Columbia University and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

The machinery for abolishing war now lies before the American people. Its beginnings may be found in one of the many resolutions introduced at the present session of Congress, a resolution which a century from now may be looked on as the starting place of America's actual scrapping of war. It says:

"Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That it be declared to be the policy of the United States:

"I. By treaty with France and other like-minded nations formally to renounce war as an instrument of public policy and to adjust and settle its international disputes by mediation, arbitration and conciliation.

"II. By formal declaration to accept the definition of aggressor nation as one which having agreed to submit international differences to conciliation, arbitration or judicial settlement, begins hostilities without having done so.



By Carey Orr, in the *Rotarian*

CHASING THE WILL O' THE WISP AGAIN



By Darling, in the Des Moines Register

#### SURELY NOT TOO MUCH TO ASK

The World to Uncle Sam: "If you just wouldn't sell him anything when he gets on one of his sprees."

"III. By treaty with France and other like-minded nations to declare that the nationals of the contracting governments should not be protected by their governments in giving aid and comfort to an aggressor nation.

"Be it further resolved, That the President be requested to enter into negotiations with France and other like-minded nations for the purpose of concluding treaties with such nations, in furtherance of the declared policy of the United States."

This resolution was presented by Senator Arthur Capper, Republican, of Kansas. Its formal language is designed to be an acceptance of the invitation made last April 6, on the tenth anniversary of America's entry into the war, by Premier Briand of France, when he said:

"France would be willing to subscribe publicly with the United States to any mutual engagement tending to outlaw war, to use an American expression, as between these two countries. . . . Every engagement entered into in this spirit by the United States toward another nation such as France would contribute greatly in the eyes of the world to broaden and strengthen the foundations on which the international policy of peace is being erected."

In announcing his resolution Senator Capper emphasized "the desirability and importance of having the United States resume the position of emphatic leadership in all that promotes international peace and understanding, a leadership it took and held under McKinley and Hay, Roosevelt and Root, and Taft and Knox."

To show what actual form this emphatic leadership would have to take, if the general approval throughout the country of Premier Briand's proposal resulted in the action now sought by Senator Capper, Professor Shotwell and Prof. Joseph P. Chamberlain, also of Columbia, drew up a draft treaty embodying the points which the United States would have to bear in mind.

This draft treaty was not made out of thin academic air, but is based on actual clauses in the treaties of Locarno and on existing but less comprehensive treaties of arbitration and conciliation which the United States has already signed with Great Britain, Japan, and France. The real import in the proposed treaty lies in Article I, which says that "the United States of America and (the other power) mutually undertake that they will in no case attack or invade each other or resort to war against each other."

In order to protect the nation's right of self-defense, Article II, quoted verbatim from Locarno, provides that "The stipulation in the above article shall not, however, apply in the case of the exercise of the right of legitimate defense, that is to say, resistance to a violation of the undertaking contained in the previous article."

It remains to be determined what is legitimate defense, for all modern wars have been camouflaged as defense, and few nations nowadays will admit that they are the aggressor. To overcome this stumbling block, both the Capper resolution and the Shotwell treaty resort to the same method of finding out who is aggressor as that which, in Locarno, makes war between France and Germany so remote, and which in 1925 clamped down on the incipient Greco-Bulgarian war so tightly as to make it a local incident instead of another world war. This method is to define legitimate defense as that in which the attacked nation offers to submit the dispute to possible settlement or to comply with an arbitral or judicial decision.

In order to make the treaty more general and to avoid the appearance of a disguised alliance, Article III of the Shotwell outline stipulates "that in the event of a breach of a

treaty or covenant for the compulsory peaceful settlement of international disputes other than this covenant, each of them undertakes that it will not aid or abet the treaty-breaking Power. In the event that the treaty-breaking Power is one of the High Contracting Parties, the other party recovers full liberty of action with reference to it. The measures to be taken in this regard shall be determined in the case of the United States of America by the action of its own Government, in the case of (the other Power) in accordance with its existing treaty obligations." This allows other nations, like France or England, to comply with their obligations under the League of Nations; but it leaves the United States free to act as Congress decides.

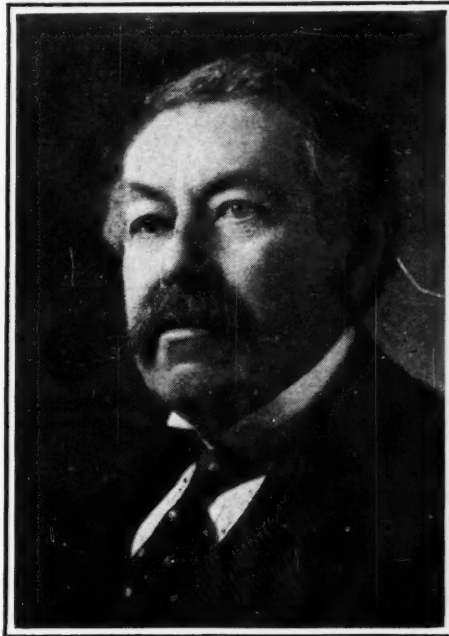
Part II of this suggested treaty deals with arbitration and conciliation, and follows the provisions of treaties we have already signed. Since these treaties do not provide for compulsory arbitration or judicial procedure on questions of vital interest or national honor—and since the professors have added a reservation that arbitration shall not apply to questions which under international law are domestic—the draft treaty does not offer a complete legal alternative for war.

"We do say, however," comments Professor Shotwell, "that even if the legal alternative is not found, nevertheless the nations cannot go to war about a question in dispute."

## Dr. Butler Calls for Action

"MR. CHAIRMAN, Ladies, and Gentlemen: The situation as to our foreign policy at the moment appears to me to be very like that which Mark Twain described in regard to the weather in Connecticut. He said that everybody complained about it, but nobody did anything about it."

It was the grave Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, President of Columbia University and distinguished authority on international affairs, who rose to speak to a large and cheering gathering of the Foreign Policy Association in New York. His words were addressed to all America, and urged that the United States should once more take up the forward march toward international progress and peace that it had abandoned in 1920.



ARISTIDE BRIAND

Foreign Minister of France. M. Briand's suggestion that France and the United States agree formally not to resort to war in settling any differences is being received with increasing sympathy throughout the country.

Also speaking on a constructive foreign policy, but defending the practice of the last seven years, was Walter Scott Penfield, former State Department official. The burden of his argument was that "in diplomacy it is often better to know what not to do than to know what to do. To do nothing—to follow a passive policy—may in the long run be a constructive policy." On this principle, which he described as beginning with Washington, Jefferson and Monroe, Mr. Penfield supported the foreign dealings of the Harding and Coolidge administrations, although he argued that such action as had been taken was wise.

The thousand listeners, however, sided overwhelmingly with Dr. Butler, who told them that "there are in this country and gathered in considerable number . . . at Washington a large number of people who want to go on talking about peace, but who are alarmed to the point of apoplexy if you ask them to do anything about it. . . . They think the world of bringing the nations together to promote good order and peace, but never for a moment the



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SENATOR ARTHUR CAPPER

League of Nations—something else. They are all for a court, but not this Court. They are all for preventing aggressive war, but not for this definition of aggressive war.

"Now the time has come . . . to test the sincerity of the American people and the American Government. Are you to treat us indefinitely to talk or are we going to have action?"

The action Dr. Butler recommended was public support of the Capper resolution introduced in the Senate, which would accept Premier Briand's proposal that France and America sign a treaty abolishing war and relying on peaceful methods to adjust differences, and would extend it to England, Germany, Italy, and Japan. "If that be considered a question alone for the Senate of the United States, some gentlemen in Washington are going to find themselves mistaken. It is a question for the people of the United States. . . . My appeal is to the public sentiment of America to act on this practical, simple, consistent declaration, to say to ourselves and to the world that we are ready to this extent to manifest that will to peace which is the only thing that can establish the habit of peace."

Questioned after the addresses, Dr. Butler

said that he had information that about seventy-five Senators—an ample majority—would vote for the Capper resolution if they could get it out of the Foreign Relations Committee and onto the calendar. Dr. Butler's demand for action has had numerous counterparts recently, as when last month a delegation of the Woman's International League for Peace and Freedom, headed by Jane Addams, urged President Coolidge to make strong efforts to negotiate treaties along the Briand lines.

## War Between England and America

THE English writer, H. M. Tomlinson, has an American friend. The friend can eat corn on the cob in public and Mr. Tomlinson can not; Mr. Tomlinson regards Prohibition with indifference, and his friend does not; they are not in sympathy about tea. But they know their heritage to be the same, and in slightly more important things they stand easily together.

"Nevertheless, the possibility that the two of us, for reasons so obscure that we could not possibly guess what they were like, should begin to disfigure each other is not unthinkable," writes Mr. Tomlinson in *Harper's*. "The powers behind Congress and Parliament appear to be preparing for war. They are doing that without intending war, of course, and of course without any consent of ours."

It is ridiculous to think that because England and America have democratic forms of government, the people will be consulted about going to war. War is not made that way.

"We cannot trust either the elected politicians or the established military experts to give body to our common and natural desire for a world in which we may do our work in peace," says Mr. Tomlinson. "Speaking for my own country, I would not trust its present well-intentioned ministers with the sagacious settlement of any problem which involved both the welfare of the money power behind Parliament and the welfare of the common folk everywhere."

Military and naval experts, who are always preparing for war ("for the last war, as a matter of fact, never the next"), go to Geneva and arouse the fears of the world by their failure to agree, all because they are unwilling to give



up their favorite toys—warships. But there are plenty of English men and women who sat through Zeppelin and airplane raids during the last war, who have begun to doubt the efficacy of a navy for defending England. Let America build ships if she likes; she can afford it. Why not, indeed, build ships for her in British shipyards? Britain needs employment and money far more than ships.

Mr. Tomlinson argues that this threatening and totally unnecessary war, if it comes, will turn the world into an ash-heap. If war does come, England will surely lose, says Mr. Tomlinson. And America will win.

But American victory will mean the job of restoring a world in flames and uproar. By the time she has finished the job, the Ford workshops and all such will be roosting places for birds and squirrels. She will be faced with the stupendous task of satisfying or quelling the colored races of the earth. She will have Russia to deal with, and the menace of the strange new idea that is spreading from Russia, and is, Mr. Tomlinson thinks, inextinguishable.

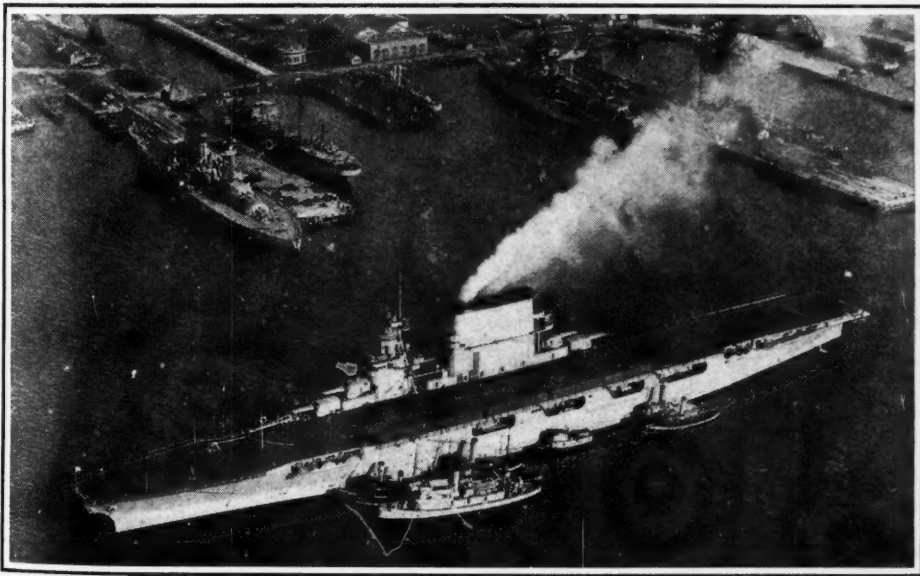
Above all, what will her factories, her cotton mills, her packing houses, her steel works and oil wells, her shops and ships, do when they have destroyed their own markets? The com-

plex and powerful machinery of modern industrial society is delicate. It is motivated by human needs everywhere in the world. Its new interdependence is in turn dependent upon peace between countries and hemispheres. The last war seriously dislocated that complex but delicate machinery. . . . So far as Europe is concerned, it is a wonder that it has been sufficiently readjusted to get going again.

Therefore, argues Mr. Tomlinson, though America would win a war with England, all she would win would be a magnificent and final bankruptcy.

## The History of the Tank

WHEN early on the twentieth of November in 1917 some 350 tanks rumbled forward through the morning mist to overwhelm the Hindenburg line in the Battle of Cambrai, a new chapter in the history of war began. Yet the idea of the tank is as old as organized warfare itself; for the tank provides armored mobility from which an offensive can be made, and that had been achieved 3,000 years ago.



© Aero Service Corp.

### THE NAVY'S NEWEST WEAPON

The new airplane carrier *Saratoga* being warped into her dock at the League Island Navy Yard, Philadelphia.

Col. J. F. C. Fuller, formerly chief general staff officer in the British Tank Corps, tells the story of the tank in the London *Graphic*. The ancient war chariot, he says, was not a tank, since the horse, its motive power, was not protected. The earliest attempt at a tank was made in China. The records of Sun-Tse tell of a war-cart called Lou, used in the twelfth century before Christ. This cart had four wheels, and held a dozen men; it was armored with leather, and was used in attack and defense. But the Chinese tank ended, as it began, with Lou.

The Persians in 554 B. C., and later the Greeks and Romans, had war turrets of various kinds, but these had to be hauled into place by men, and could hardly qualify as tanks. Not so the mail-clad knight of the Middle Ages; on foot, he was in every way a true tank, for he was protected from attack, could move and fight. Of course, as Colonel Fuller says, "his armor was so heavy that he could scarcely move, and in muddy ground, like the tanks in the Ypres area in 1917, he became ditched."

The use of cannon made bodily armor obsolete, and revived the ancient Chinese Lou—movable fortresses of one sort or another. With Watt's steam engine, Cugnot's steam automobile, and Edgeworth's footed wheel, which enabled an ordinary

wheel to negotiate soft ground without sinking in, the essentials of the modern tank were provided.

Splendid work in the mud was done by some Boydle traction engines fitted with footed wheels, in the Crimean War of 1854. In the Boer War of 1902, Lou appeared again, however; this time in the form of a bullet-proof ox-wagon. It remained for the combustion engine, developed by Daimler in 1886, to be improved until a real tank was possible.

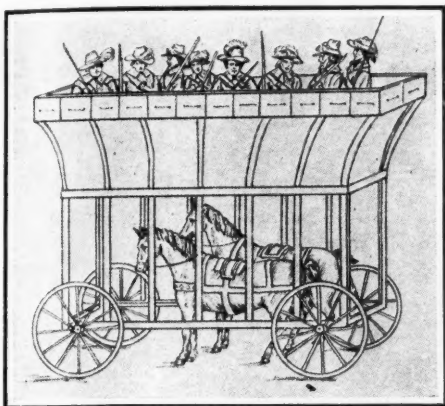
The Great War, continues Colonel Fuller, "was a war of mud, wire, and trenches; and at once old Lou whispers in many brains: 'Protect your mobility and you will win the war.' How to protect it? By armor! How to move it? By petrol! What of the mud, the wire, and the trenches? The footed wheel! So it happened that, in 1915, the first true tank was built in England by Major Wilson and Sir William Tritton, and on September 15, 1916, it passed through its fire baptism on the fields of the Somme.

"For 3,000 years the mind of the soldier had been struggling with an idea; ten years ago that idea became a fact, the bullet was vanquished, and the War God turned over yet another page of his grim romance. To those who can read it, on it is written in blood and petrol the tragedy of the next great war."



THE 1928 MODEL IN TANKS

An Army tank at Camp Meade, Maryland. These new machines are a realization of an ideal sought by soldiers through all the ages: a fighting unit that can move anywhere, and yet remain protected.



AN EARLY TANK

A Scottish War Cart, designed in 1456. It was drawn by horses placed within, and fitted with a primitive cannon as well as a protected compartment for soldiers.

"Looking at the world as it is to-day," adds Colonel Fuller, "no sane man can possibly say that strife and the causes of strife are things of the past."

## How About Germany's Finances?

THE warning to the German Government by S. Parker Gilbert, Agent-General for Reparations Payments, urging that Germany check her present tendency to overspend and overborrow, has created an international furor. It has, first of all, elicited a defense from German Minister of Finance Kohler which is, says Frederick Kuh in the *Nation*, part defense, part admission, and mostly evasion. Foreign Minister Stresemann has also spoken, openly echoing Mr. Gilbert's warning of "danger ahead," and pointing out that an impression disastrous to Germany's credit is being created abroad that the country is deliberately living beyond her means in order that she will not be able to meet her reparations obligations.

Mr. Gilbert in his memorandum, published by the *Advocate of Peace Through Justice*, points to the yearly increase in the German budget, in spite of continued unfavorable balance of trade, and to the excess of current expenditure over current revenue, which can result only in new loans abroad added to an already staggering total. He deplors the tendency of the States and Communes to overborrow, due to

rising and, he thinks, unnecessary public expenditure.

Such considerable items in the Government's budget as the salary increase for government officials, which adds 1,250,000,000 marks yearly; the public education reform bill, and other improvement measures are cited by Mr. Gilbert as extravagances, in the existing state of Government finances. It is possible, says he, that such short-sighted Government policy will endanger German credit and bring on an economic crisis of overwhelming seriousness.

Wall Street has already heeded Mr. Gilbert's words, as the blocking of the Prussian State loan rudely indicated to the German government and people.

Within Germany, extensive discussion has arisen about the country's economic policy. There is widespread agreement with Mr. Gilbert that extreme economy is needed and that the country is overborrowing. But there is also widespread agreement that the situation is far from serious. Everywhere the implication read

From *Kladderadatsch* (Berlin)

### MICHEL AND HIS NEVER-SATISFIED RELATIVES

Michel (Germany): "Those greedy persons begrudge me my modest soup, although it is water and they know I got it on credit." (*Echo de Paris* writes: "Germany is allowing herself an opulence that makes the victorious countries play the part of poor relations.")



THE MODERN "COXEY'S ARMY" OF BRITISH MINERS ON THE MARCH TO LONDON

into Mr. Gilbert's warning, that Germany was headed towards eventual shirking of her foreign debts, is hotly repudiated. Comment in the French press hails Mr. Gilbert as a Daniel come to judgment, and hints that sooner or later Germany will make a bid for revision of the Dawes plan by the simple method of demonstrating that it is unworkable.

In effect, Mr. Gilbert points to the trade balance which is still adverse, to the staggering total of foreign obligations that can be met only by more borrowing, and asks that the government look ahead, straighten out the muddle in which he finds its financial affairs, and stop building swimming-pools, athletic stadiums and such like until it can afford them.

Concluding an exhaustive economic survey of Europe, Prof. E. M. Patterson, in the *Annals* of the Academy of Political and Social Science, says:

"Germany's debt is getting larger, not smaller, and there is little prospect that it can ever be paid. . . . It is highly probable that a crisis will come before very long and that an extensive liquidation will take place. Obligations have been piled so high that some can not be met. When this is widely recognized the crisis is on. When it may come, what will precipitate it, and how serious it will be no one can say with assurance."

## The Miners March on London

DOWN the flat tar road to Slough, on the border of Windsor forest in England, comes the sound of lusty singing. The tune is the American jazz ditty,

Pack up all my care and woe,  
Here I go, singing low,  
Bye, Bye, Blackbird.

Rhythmically the song is punctuated by the click of hobnailed boots—"Bye"—click—"bye"—click—"blackbird"—click, click. A shabby little army of 270 men comes into view, swinging past the mullioned windows of ancient brick homes and the signboards of English inns, past countless filling stations and new houses. In the hands of the men are miners' lamps, and they carry banners of Communistic flavor, telling of unemployment and long-drawn-out distress in the South Wales mining district whence they have come.

This was the army of "Emperor" Cook, the Communist Secretary of the Miners' Federation. Walking fifteen miles a day, camping at night in towns where sympathetic laborites provided food and lodging, singing as they went, they made their way to London to see Premier



Baldwin and present to him a Magna Charta for relief of their woes.

They did not see Premier Baldwin, who refused the honor, but they held an impressive ceremony in Trafalgar Square, read their petition, sang "The Red Flag," and went home by train on money collected from the crowd.

"Their object was to force upon the attention of London and the Government the wretched plight of the unemployed miners," writes the Manchester *Guardian*, and the London *Times* adds, "There is no one simple, single remedy, but the combined application of many reforms will pull the industry around. . . . The industry is in a state of crisis and bold decisions have to be taken."

Whether or not the miners succeeded in their purpose, writes the London correspondent of the New York *Times*, they accomplished at least two things: "They furnished the towns of England along the 170-mile route to the capital a magnificent example of male chorus singing, and they . . . gave themselves thirteen days of a comparatively carefree lark." Watching them, this writer, Allen Raymond, carried away "the memory of the pitiable physiques, the white and prematurely old faces of youths in their late teens or early twenties, who comprised the bulk of the marchers."

## What Could a Wet President Do?

THE issue upon which Governor Smith will be elected or defeated, should he receive the Democratic nomination for President, will be Prohibition. There will be no chance for him to evade the issue; he is as closely associated with it as is Coolidge with prosperity. Furthermore, it is the one national cause with which he is clearly identified, and it is the one legitimate public issue upon which he can be attacked, since political safety and convention prevent the open use of such points as his Catholicism, his immigrant origin, his personal variation from the traditional type of American presidents, his Tammany associations, his identification with New York.

The American voter wants to know, there-



By Marcus, in the New York Times

OPTIMISTIC

fore, what practical difference the election of Al Smith as President would make in the Prohibition situation. And he has the right to know, thinks Walter Lippmann, propounder of the above argument in the January *Harpers*. According to Mr. Lippmann, the election of Smith as President would and could make surprisingly little difference. Drys may vote happily for the Man in the Brown Derby, secure that he can do nothing in particular to their pet amendment, and Wets may vote for him without expectation of more than intelligent interpretation and tactful enforcement.

For, no matter what Smith has said he would like to do, or would do, this is the concrete situation which would confront him as President:

"The Eighteenth Amendment cannot be repealed or modified. Whatever Governor Smith may think of the Amendment it will remain part of the Constitution, because a majority in one branch of the legislature of thirteen States is enough to preserve the Amendment intact. There is no reasonable chance of a sufficient change of sentiment to carry the legislatures of thirty-six States for repeal.

"The Volstead Act is not likely to be modified by the next Congress. The dry majority is secure.

"Congress, while retaining the Volstead Act, will not appropriate enough money to enforce it thoroughly, nor arm the Executive with the drastic

police powers which thorough enforcement calls for. This prophecy is based on the past record of Congress. It never has, even in the heyday of the Prohibition fervor, been willing to pay the bill for real enforcement. There is no reason to suppose that it will be more willing to do so next year.

*"Since the appropriations and the powers for enforcement will remain inadequate, the Executive, charged with enforcement, is bound to use his discretion as to where he will apply his limited resources to a virtually unlimited problem."*

"Smith's actual policy would inevitably lie within the framework of these four propositions," continues Mr. Lippmann. "He may believe that the Eighteenth Amendment ought not to be part of the Constitution, but as President, he could not repeal the Eighteenth Amendment." Although he approved the repeal of the New York State enforcement law in 1923 and declared that the Volstead Act's definition of an intoxicating beverage was "not an honest or a commonsense one," and later voted for the referendum, which, in effect, would allow respective States to determine what was intoxicating, the decision, once he were President, would still rest with Congress—and, as has been pointed out, Congress probably will do nothing about it. The practical consequences of Smith's wetness would then be narrowed down to his use of the inadequate forces provided by Congress for enforcement.

"Congress, although there is a strong Dry majority, has steadily refused to supply the means for thorough enforcement. . . . It follows that Congress expects the Executive to enforce the law partially."

So far, the sniping policy has been adopted. It consists in nabbing this bootlegger and that rum-runner, in arresting this café-owner and that liquor magnate; it is not a dignified nor effective policy, and it is a deeply corrupting one. Other policies which have been attempted spasmodically, have served principally to reveal the extent of the country's wetness, and to leave wet districts as wet as ever.

Now, Smith might do a number of things. He might, being a Wet, do his best to waste the money dedicated to enforcement; but he would not, Mr. Lippmann believes: "I am firmly convinced that Smith, precisely because he is a Wet, would devote an amount of time and thought and attention to the enforcement machinery which no President has ever yet given to it."

Governor Smith is committed to the general principle that Dry States ought to be dry and Wet States wet. Is it not possible that he will decide to concentrate his enforcement primarily upon protecting Dry States against the invasion of liquor from Wet States and from abroad? Such a program would more than tax the resources of enforcement, but would contain at least the possibility of success.

This is the most Smith could do as President. The least he could do, in Mr. Lippmann's opinion, is to practice the same kind of enforcement, of confusion and corruption, as exists to-day.

## Aviation's Big Year

THE year 1927 will go down in the history of aviation as a breathtaking record of expansion and advance—not only in record flights and record publicity, not only in providing the year's national hero, and in usurping the imagination of the American people, but in good, solid commercial gain.

Dollars and sense are coming into aviation, declares William P. MacCracken, Jr., the young Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Aeronautics, writing in the *Nation's Business*. Investment bankers and business men who sought new fields in which to invest capital have begun to consider air mails and air transport as "safe bets" and "sure fire money-makers." The American Railway Express has inaugurated an aerial service over 5,000 miles; the air-mail, no longer government-owned, is branching out and carrying passengers. The railroads are beginning to wake up to the inestimable advantage of associating air transport with railways.

Airports have sprung up in literally dozens of cities. Colonel Lindbergh's recent air-tour of the country under the auspices of the Guggenheim Fund for the Promotion of Aeronautics resulted in more airports planned. Greater intelligence about and sympathy for the achievements and needs of commercial aviation have also resulted from his visits to eighty-two cities, in every State in the Union. In the *Independent*, Milburn Kusterer quotes Harry F. Guggenheim, head of the Fund:

"The money expended by the Fund on Colonel Lindbergh's tour has been returned to

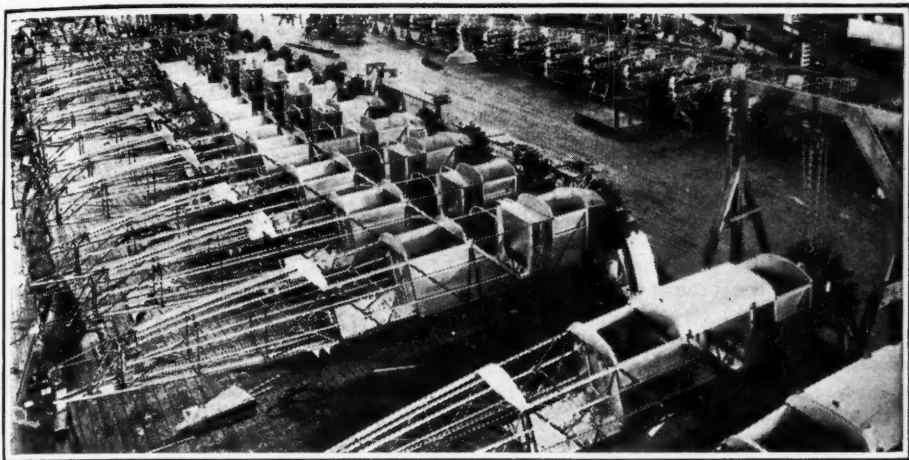
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AVIATION TAKES TO MASS PRODUCTION

A view of the assembly room of the Boeing Airplane Company, in Seattle, Washington. The scene gives practical demonstration of the commercial results of the popular impetus given aviation during 1927.

aeronautics manyfold in the form of new airports, improved facilities at fields, and in the material encouragement given to air-mail and other forms of air-transportation.

The National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics in its annual report recently submitted to Congress surveys the year's notable achievements, placing high among them the demonstration of the capabilities of aircraft, the action of the Department of Commerce in regulating and encouraging air traffic, the entrance of industrial capital into aeronautics, and the new five-year program ratified for the Army and Navy Air Services.

## The Fiction of Majority Rule

**D**URING the fiery frenzy that accompanied the late war for democracy, a New York public school official declared that no teacher who had any doubts about the sacred doctrine of majority rule should be allowed to instruct the youth of the city. Not long afterward an august State committee on the Pacific Coast placed fourth among seven principles designed to control instruction in the schools a belief in democratic self-government by majority rule.

It is this cardinal article of American faith that Charles A. Beard, author of "The Rise of American Civilization," and formerly pro-

fessor of politics at Columbia, dissects in the *Atlantic Monthly*. He wants to know exactly what it means:

"Do those who adhere to the dogma mean that the assent of a majority of the adult population is required to make any act of the government lawful?" Evidently not, for until adoption of national woman suffrage in 1920 most of the women in the country were ignored in the so-called majority decisions; and even now in several Southern States Negroes are frequently disregarded when it comes to voting.

Does majority rule, then, mean "government by the majority of those who are authorized under the existing providential arrangements to cast their ballots in elections"? Professor Beard thinks not, since it happens again and again that the majority of voters abstains from expressing any opinion at all. In 1924 more than a third of the electorate did not vote, "and the vote which elected Mr. Coolidge was not much, if any, larger than the stay-at-home vote." Mr. Coolidge, in other words, was elected by a minority of qualified voters.

To shave the definition still further, then, does majority rule mean "a majority of those who are loyal and patriotic enough to do their duty at general elections by putting their ballots into the box"? It cannot, for even the majority of active voters in general elections will not bestir themselves to vote on constitutional measures: "Bitter experience with the provision requiring for the adoption of State

constitutional amendments a majority of all those voting in some State election has led to the general rejection of this counsel of perfection.

Thus, all that is left by way of majority rule is that in every election not otherwise controlled the "candidate who receives more votes than anybody else shall be declared elected and clothed with power." That, Professor Beard points out, "is a considerable decline from the high pinnacle from which our triumphal procession started, but it seems to be final, frankly conceding the right of the minority to rule, provided it is a plurality."

Even this doctrine is not universal, for it is possible, as in the Hayes-Tilden contest of 1876, for the man who gets this plurality to be defeated by a man with still fewer votes. The Constitution, far from commanding government by a popular majority or plurality, actually permits government by a president who commands neither, but has been duly elected according to established forms.

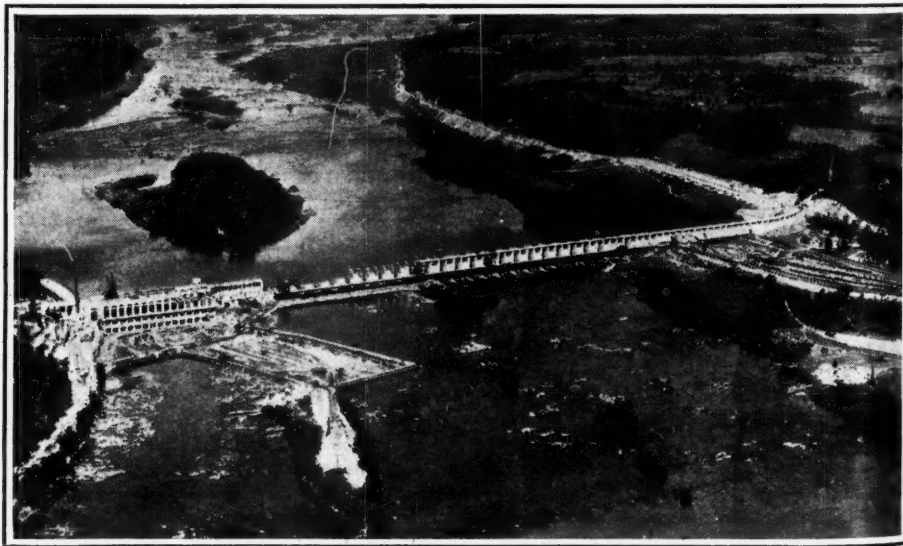
Professor Beard demonstrates that it is difficult to discover any crucial issues of politics in America that have been settled by a majority of the people lawfully entitled to vote. The Revolution was the work of an energetic minority, as was the adoption of the Constitution. Lincoln's election in 1860 was by a minority, and so were both of Wilson's.

In short, Professor Beard concludes that none of the crucial decisions of American politics have enjoyed the sanction of a majority of the electorate expressed at the polls. "It would be interesting to inquire just where civilization would now stand," he says, "if people of ideas, ideals, inventiveness, and superior intelligence had always refused to act on their convictions until they had won a clear majority of their fellow citizens to their view of the universe."

## Giant Power from the Susquehanna

THE town of Conowingo, Md., on the bottom of a lake fourteen miles long, one mile wide and 108 feet deep. But the Conowingans do not mind. They watch proudly as the Conowingo hydro-electric plant comes into being. The waters of the lake which will engulf their homes will come from the Susquehanna, and by next year they will be turning eleven generators in a power plant second only to that at Niagara Falls.

The Philadelphia Electric Company, merged with the Pennsylvania Power and Light Company and the Public Service Electric and Gas Company of New Jersey, into what is believed



THE NEW CONOWINGO DAM ACROSS THE SUSQUEHANNA RIVER IN MARYLAND

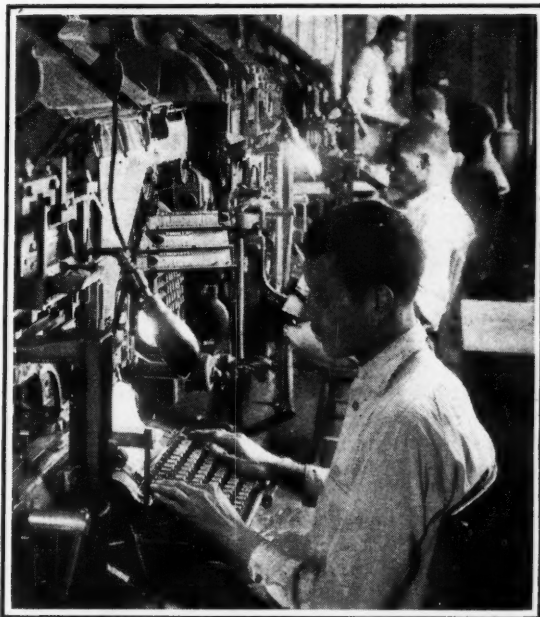


to be the largest combination of electrical generating capacities in the world, are the builders of the Conowingo plant. When completed the plant will generate the current for central Pennsylvania and northern New Jersey, being transmitted over an elaborate system of wires.

It will probably save more than 750,000 tons of coal a year.

Work was started nearly two years ago, and already a dam 200 feet longer than that at Muscle Shoals is completed. A highway bridge runs along the top of the dam, replacing five miles of the Philadelphia-Baltimore highway which is to be submerged. Fifteen miles of the Pennsylvania Railroad have also been relocated. There are 3,500 workmen already employed on the project, the total cost of which is estimated at \$52,000,000.

The report from which these facts are taken appeared in the *Christian Science Monitor*.



NEGRO LINOTYPERS AT WORK IN THE PRINT-SHOP AT HAMPTON INSTITUTE, HAMPTON, VA.

## A Black on Whites

MILLIONS of words have been written about Negroes by white folks, but it is only rarely that a Negro reaches the ears of the public with his opinion of the Nordic. In the *American Mercury*, however, Mr. George S. Schuyler, Negro writer, states his views.

"We Ethiops are a childish, shiftless, immoral, primitive, incurably religious, genially incompetent, incredibly odoriferous, inherently musical, chronically excitable, mentally inferior people with pronounced homicidal tendencies"—according to white people's opinion—begins Mr. Schuyler. The most tolerant magnanimously concede that the best type of Negro is as good as his pale neighbors.

The Negro is not always as flattered by this remark as you might think. Although the majority of Nordics seem to believe that all Negroes look upon them as paragons of intelligence, efficiency, refinement, and morality, this is in reality far from the case.

"While the average Nordic knows nothing of how Negroes actually live and what they ac-

tually think, the Negroes know the Nordics intimately. Practically every member of the Negro aristocracy of physicians, dentists, lawyers, undertakers and insurance men has worked at one time or another for white folks as a domestic, and observed them with cynical detachment."

For the lower-class white, the Negro frequently has the profoundest contempt, and is inexpressibly galled by their assumption of superiority. He feels more kindly toward the whites of wealth, education, and influence, who have done much for the black man. But even then, the Negro knows he cannot depend upon them in a crisis, such as a lynching or a race riot, to defend him or even to abstain from banding against him.

"As a result of this attitude of his pale neighbors, the lowly moke has about ten times as many obstacles to hurdle in the race of life as the average peckerwood. It is difficult enough to survive and prosper in this world under the best of conditions, but when one must face such an attitude on the part of those who largely control the means of existence, the struggle is great indeed. Naturally there is deep resentment and bitterness. . . .

"The attitude of the Northern white folks in particular puzzles and incenses him. Very often he feels that they are more dangerous to him than the Southerners. Here are folks who yawp continuously about liberty, justice, equality . . . but toward the Negro in their midst they are quite as cruel as the Southern Crackers. . . . In the city of New York, which is considered a heaven for Negroes . . . it is harder for a capable young Negro to get a decent job than it is for a comely Negro girl to escape being approached by white men in a Southern town.

"Almost every thoughtful Negro believes that the scrapping of the color-caste system would not hinder but rather help the country. In their zeal to keep the black brother away from the pie counter, the whites are depriving the nation of thousands of individuals of extraordinary ability. The rigid training and discipline that the Negro has received since his arrival on these sacred shores has left him with a lower percentage of weaklings and incompetents than is shown by any other group. . . . He has energy and originality, the very qualities being sought to-day.

"Certainly, if the best measure of intelligence is ability to survive in a changing or hostile environment, and if one considers that the Negro is not only surviving but improving all the time in health, wealth, and culture, one must agree that he possesses a high degree of intelligence. In their efforts to fight off the ravages of color prejudice, the blacks have welded themselves into a homogeneity and developed a morale whose potentialities are not yet fully appreciated."

## Murder, American Style

AMERICA is the land where murder is an accident; where the cost of burglary, fraud and arson is three times as much as the Government budget; where men are too busy riveting bridges, driving tunnels, clearing forests and building churches to care about law enforcement; where love of money excuses all things.

Law cases are tried in newspapers long before they are heard in court, and the verdict of public opinion is more important to the people than that of judges and jury. Everywhere the de-

lusion that you can get away with it, be it a faked divorce or murder, is fostered.

This, at least, is how crime in the United States appears to a well-known English journalist, P. W. Wilson, who after several years in this country writes on this subject for his fellow-countrymen in the London *Sphere*.

Ten thousand murders, it is estimated, were committed in the United States last year. This is twenty times the homicide rate in Great Britain, begins Mr. Wilson. "To the British mind, 10,000 homicides suggest 10,000 bungalows raided by 10,000 detectives from Scotland Yard, and 10,000 gravely conducted trials before 10,000 judges of the High Court, most of the verdicts ending in the assumption of the black cap. A murder is still an event."

It is otherwise in America. Murder is "a mishap, an accident not by motor-car, but by morals; it may be first degree, second degree or third degree; it may be actually a deed of heroism." America has the "psychology of the gold-rush, the mental processes of the diamond mine. . . . Covetousness culminates in killing. Murder is a human sacrifice to Mammon."

## Movies Must Move

THE novelist is the monkey-wrench in the motion-picture machinery. In their early days, movies behaved as though they realized that the essence of their art is motion. Later the novelist descended on Hollywood, and the rushing Empire State Express and charging cavalry were replaced by facial undulations and explanatory subtitles.

"A novel, believe me, is not material for a movie. . . . The novelist does not perceive that the modern novel, with its psychological turns masking a static set of characters or movement, can rarely be photographed." This is from Laurence Stallings, author of the famous movies "The Big Parade" and "What Price Glory," writing in *Plain Talk*.

And John Erskine, in *Theater Magazine*, chimes in: "Motion-pictures will improve just as soon as producers discontinue buying novels and stage plays for their stories." The author of the "Private Life of Helen of Troy," which is now to appear in the movies, further suggests that directors of motion-pictures turn to musical comedy for inspiration. A plot is not necessary to a movie, nor to a musical comedy, and the musical comedy has the beauty, energy, gayety,

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#### MAKING A MOVING PICTURE MOVE

Laurence Stallings, author, playwright, and ex-captain of the Marines (seated at right), who urges that moving pictures contain more action, supervising his film "What Price Glory." With him are Dolores del Rio, leading woman, Victor Laglen (left) as Captain Flagg, Edmund Lowe as Sergeant Quirt, and Raoul Walsh, director.

speed and variety, so essential to a good motion-picture.

The novelist complains to his friends that his book has been butchered by the cinema technicians. Nine times out of ten it is his own fault. His story probably did not contain more than a few hundred feet of action suitable for filming; the rest had to be supplied by hack writers connected with the studio, who had to "stud the manuscript with raps, braveries, rejuvenations, redemptions, sacrifices, custard pies. These devices are bad. But they move. And the movie, by God, must move!" The strong language is by Stallings.

The novelists must stop looking upon the movies as the dumping-ground for their worst copy, and learn the fundamental truth that "blather cannot be photographed." The movies must be realized as a difficult medium to use: that is, "difficult to use in the sense that a dramatist may use his theater or a composer his orchestra."

He who wishes to write a scenario that will make a good movie should "visualize a camera set alongside the track of the Twentieth Century Limited, and how the train might start for it, diminutive and motionless: how it would

broaden and widen, become monstrous and menacing, marvelously rhythmical in its wheels and drivers, and how it would burst in a bomb-shell of movement: drivers, wheels, smoke, pistons, cylinders, tubular roundnesses, shining curves of metal vanishing into a swift succession of window squares hurtling past the lens. That is the pattern he must follow."

### The First American Dictator

A HUGE shock of gray hair, allowed to grow to tragedian lengths. Features finely chiseled, upon which rest almost continuously a threateningly serious expression. A high standing collar with a tiny black string tie. An astonishingly heavy cane with a great number of rubber bands wound about the head.

This is the portrait of Judge Lundis, high commissioner of organized baseball, drawn by H. K. Middleton and published in the *Chicagoan*, which aims to do for the middle-western metropolis what the periodical *New Yorker* does for the great city of the East.

In March, 1905, by grace of Theodore Roosevelt and Illinois Republican leaders, Kenesaw Mountain Landis became a national figure through his appointment to the federal bench in Chicago. Inquiring readers are informed by Mr. Middleton that Landis senior was wounded in the battle of Kenesaw Mountain, and for that reason his son received his topographical cognomen.

For sixteen years he served as United States District judge at Chicago, and since November, 1920, he has been Lord High Commissioner of baseball. "From the federal bench to the hectic forum of professional sport might seem an extraordinary transition, but the personality and the career of Judge Landis have been so full of the extraordinary, the bizarre, and the sensational that practically any course he might have taken upon leaving the bench would have had the sanction of precedent."

We are told by this biographer that the Judge has sedulously cultivated newspaper editors and reporters, and does not refrain from almost any sort of antic which promises front-page publicity. His greatest gesture was a fine imposed upon the Standard Oil Company of Indiana of \$29,240,000, which was later set aside by the Supreme Court. He can make the most solemn ceremony out of the most trivial act. But people remember him, not always knowing why.

## The Inside Story of Santy Claus

**I**S THERE a Santy Claus? We have learned again during the holiday week that there is, as we do each year. But how many know whence he came—this jolly fellow in a red fur-trimmed suit, who goes by the name of Santy Claus or Santa Claus, but who is also the holy St. Nicholas, and also at times Kriss Kringle, the Christ Child?

The true story of Santy Claus, so far as known, is told by John Macy, author and literary editor, in the Christmas *Bookman*.

St. Nicholas is the chief ancestor of our Santy Claus. He was a real person, and became Bishop of Myra, in Lycia, Asia Minor, in the fourth century A. D., and is known as the youngest bishop in the history of the church.

His father was a wealthy merchant, and his riches, Mr. Macy points out, enabled him to be a dispenser of good things, an earthly representative of the Supreme Giver of Gifts.

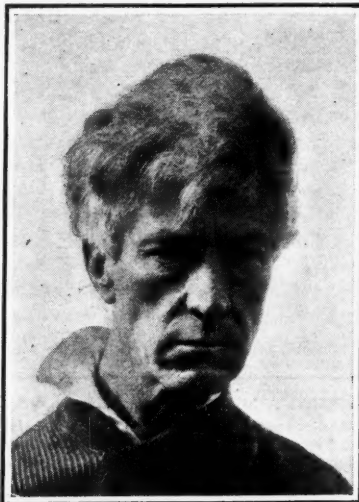
The story that made him most famous is that of his rescue of three dowerless maidens. An impoverished nobleman had three daughters whom he was about to send forth into a life of shame. Nicholas heard of them, and at night threw a purse of gold into the house. This furnished a dowry for the eldest daughter, and she was married. In the same way the holy hermit took care of the other two.

Thus he came to be the patron saint of maidenhood. Not only that, but, whether through the symbol of the three purses of gold or through the desire to have a reputable person as patron saint, he was adopted by medieval bankers; and his emblem survives to this day in the pawnbroker's three golden balls. So, too, he was adopted by thieves and by sailors. And many a sailor's life did he save. Also, he dispensed justice.

Since he had himself been a Boy Bishop, he took schoolboys under his patronage. Once, indeed, he caused three boys who had been cut to pieces and put into casks for pickling meat to come to life again, entire. And in time St. Nicholas day, December sixth, came to witness the festival of the Boy Bishop, who was elected by his fellows, and who with his companions led a mock solemn parade. There was much feasting and jollity, but in time the church put a stop to this.

How did this Bishop, saint, and ascetic turn into the jolly old man in red?

His name we got from our Dutch ancestors in



KENESAW MOUNTAIN LANDIS



New Amsterdam. In Dutch his name is San Nicolaas, and, says Mr. Macy, "if we say that rather fast with a stress on the broad double-A of the last syllable, a D or a T slips in after the N, and we get 'Sandyclaus or Santy Claus.'" His festival was moved over to Christmas, "partly because St. Nicholas Day is so near to Christmas and partly because in some parts of the world there arose a sort of Protestant hostility to the worship of saints." Moving the day to Christmas identified Santy Claus with the Christ Child, at least in some parts of America where the people are of Dutch or German descent. Kriss Kringle is a corruption of the German words for Christ Child.

There remains to be explained how St. Nicholas, who even to-day in Holland and Belgium retains his venerable Bishop's mien, turned into "jolly old elf" in Clement Moore's poem, "'Twas the Night Before Christmas." Mr. Macy sees a hint in the union of Santy Claus and the Christ Child:

"Santy Claus, the merry elf, is not Christian at all, but pagan, coming down from times earlier than the Christian era or at least earlier than the times when the Teutonic people were Christianized. He belongs to popular fairy-land, the land of elves, gnomes, sprites, hobgoblins." But the elf is now partly a saint, and no other saint and few other men embrace such a wide variety of benevolent ideas as Nicholas, with such duration in time and such extent throughout the Christian world.

## The Changing Lawyer

**I** DENY the assertions of the critics who say that the Bar is losing its influence," declares Silas H. Strawn, one of the prominent lawyers in America. It is true that the field of endeavor is changing, he admits. Where the old-time lawyer dealt largely in oratory and

litigation, his modern successor has become a constructive force in our complicated industrial civilization.

"The persistent march of civilization, the activities of the inventor and of the scientist, and the amazing development in every field of human endeavor," writes Mr. Strawn in the *Journal* of the American Bar Association, "have made the life of the lawyer of to-day one of constantly changing experience and increasing responsibility."

It is hard for the uninitiated to conceive how dependent upon the lawyer are the complex industrial, commercial, and financial organizations of to-day:

"Obviously the work not only of creating the structures by which these vast enterprises function, but the preservation of their private rights and their relations to governments, municipal, state, and federal, domestic and foreign, must be that of the lawyer. . . .

"Again, all of these enterprises must be financed. The bankers must have the opinion

of lawyers as to the titles to the property and as to the legality of the corporate entities. There must be prepared the securities which shall be sound and marketable. This also is the lawyer's job."

Lawyers are frequently selected as chief executives of a great industry or business, says Mr. Strawn, pointing to Judge Gary, Owen D. Young, Jackson Reynolds and Dwight Morrow. Why? "Because they have minds trained and disciplined to think accurately and clearly, the capacity to reason dispassionately . . . greater knowledge of government and laws . . . the will to distinguish between right and wrong and the facility to express their thoughts."

In addition to the solution of domestic problems, the lawyer has always played a large part in international matters, and Mr. Strawn looks forward to a day when lawyers will deal as much with the world problems of society as they do now with the troubles of the individual.



SANTY CLAUS

Mr. Strawn himself is an example of the modern lawyer he describes. He is president of the American Bar Association and a leader of the Chicago Bar. As senior member of the firm of Winston, Strawn and Shaw, he has been counsel for numerous large railroads, banks, and commercial houses; he is a director of the First National Bank of Chicago and similar organizations; he is chairman of the board of Montgomery Ward and Company; he is the American member of the Chinese Extra-Territoriality Commission—and he is ex-president of the U. S. Golf Association.

## Mental Good Housekeeping

**H**OW can the young businessman who is called upon to devote his time, energy, and imagination to hosiery, paint, or radiators keep his outside interests varied and his mental capacity from deteriorating? How can his wife, deep in the wholesale baby business, keep from burying her mind so successfully in the nursery and kitchen that it will never emerge again? In *Good Housekeeping*, Robert Haven Schauffler, philosophical essayist, gives this recipe:

First of all, sacredly reserve a certain part of each day—if only a half-hour—for care of your mind. What with dressing, bathing, eating and sleeping, you devote at least ten hours a day to the care of your body. Why not spend one-twentieth as much in airing and exercising your mind?

It must, however, be an undisturbed half-hour. The assurance of quiet is necessary for concentration, at least at first. Given the half-hour, start simply. Take a well-written book on a subject that interests you. Read a paragraph, then put the book down and see how much you can remember. When you can reproduce accurately the gist of a paragraph,

take a page, then two pages, finally a whole chapter. Mr. Schauffler quotes Arnold Bennett:

"If a man does not spend at least as much time in actively and definitely thinking about what he has read as he has spent in reading, he is simply insulting his author."

After you have captured the knack of concentration, go in for literary cross-country hunting. For this you need a few good reference books nearby. An encyclopedia, an atlas, a history, a collection of the world's best literature, and you are off. You read something that interests you: perhaps about Michelangelo. In the course of reading up about him, you are bound to learn a good deal about Rome and Florence, Renaissance art, and the history of science and invention. And you are apt to remember it.

Now you are ready for more difficult setting-up exercises. Select some topic that interests you—beauty or babies, golf, Florida or flappers. Then try to think of that one subject, and nothing else, for ten minutes. This sounds easy, but it is surprising how often you will have to drag your mind back just as it is wandering off. Next day, try another subject. When you get so that you can think about one subject for a half-hour

straight, with only five lapses, you will possess a thinking machine of which you may justly be proud. Do not expect, however, to achieve it over-night.

## Forward to Methuselah?

**C**HEERFUL persons often imply, these days, that the fountain of youth is just around the corner. They assure us that, thanks to modern medical science, life is to be prolonged immensely in the near future. One of them re-



© Harris & Ewing

SILAS H. STRAWN



#### HOW LONG ARE THEY GOING TO LIVE?

Their expectation of life averages about fifteen years longer than had they been born in ancient Rome, scientists declare. Our greatest medical progress has been in lessening the infant death rate.

cently went so far as to tell the American Sociological Society that in 2000 A.D. many a baby will be born with 200 years or more of life before it, that men and women 100 years old will be quite normal.

In the *Scientific Monthly*, Paul Popenoe, author, social hygienist, and grower of dates, takes to task persons who say things like that. What they say is all very heartening, he admits; and it is true that two or three thousand years ago the expectation of life at birth was ten or twenty years less than now. But to expect our great-grandchildren to be amateur Methuselahs is ridiculous.

In spite of the high mortality faced by babies in former centuries, the old Roman of sixty, and others like him, had a greater expectation of life than the American to-day, since casualties to his generation in their first few years had wiped out all the misfits and left only the hardest to become old men. Moreover, thinks Mr. Popenoe, if in two thousand years medical science has lengthened the new-born baby's expectation of life only 100 per cent., to expect it to lengthen it 300 or 400 per cent. in another three generations involves an unheard-of speeding-up of evolution.

Evolution is not a sprint, but an endurance contest. If it is argued that man can make such a sprint—as he has in acquiring control over the world he lives in—the fact remains that these are social accomplishments and not organic evolution. Human longevity is organic, not cultural.

Most proponents of the medical fountain of youth are vague, Mr. Popenoe finds, in telling how the evolutionary sprint is to be made.

They point to the longer average life span, and argue that by lengthening it still further, it can be made to approach infinity. But most of this lengthening is merely apparent, a trick of statistics resulting from decreased infant mortality. Modern babies may have a far longer expectation of life at birth, because not so many of them die the first year. But that does not mean that as old men the survivors will live a day longer than their great-great-grandfathers.

While it is true that infectious disease no longer wipes out so many grown persons as formerly, it is also true that degenerative diseases like diabetes wipe out more. And they are harder to combat, involving not simple vaccination, but a change in habits of living.

"It is not so easy to get a middle-aged business man to stop eating and start exercising," says Mr. Popenoe, "as it is to clear the hookworms out of his system and immunize him against diphtheria."

#### Cancer

MANY years ago the mistaken opinion prevailed that cancer was necessarily fatal. To-day it is known that many patients can be saved if the disease is detected in time and if healthy persons make use of the recent discoveries of modern medicine to prevent cancerous growths.

The cancer death-rate has risen steadily of late until more than 100,000 persons die from cancer each year in the United States. The increase is, of course, partly explained by two

things. First, that more people live to attain middle-age, when cancer is most likely to occur, and second, that physicians now more frequently detect cancer as the true cause of death.

To dispel some of the many misconceptions about the disease and to prevent further increase in the death-rate, the American Society for the Control of Cancer has been carrying on a vigorous campaign—through newspapers, magazines, and speeches—that has already brought hundreds of patients to the hospitals and clinics for examination and treatment, and has flooded the New York office of the Society with inquiries.

Popular among wrong ideas about cancer is the widespread belief that physicians know nothing about the disease and are helpless before it. This is not so. While much still remains to be discovered, including a cure for the disease in its later stages, research has provided many facts about its nature, prevention, and cure.

For instance, it is established that cancer is not a germ disease, and is therefore not contagious. It starts, as a result of local, chronic irritation, as a growth of cells similar to healthy cells except that they possess the power of unrestrainable growth. It may manifest itself at first as nothing more formidable than a small, painless lump. In this stage it is easily removable by surgery. But the cells keep on growing lawlessly, until they break down the surrounding tissue, causing irreparable damage. Sometimes particles break off and travel through the blood stream to other parts of the

body, to begin new growths. Once this has happened, the patient is almost always doomed.

Avoid all local, constant irritations, advise the official bulletins of the Society for the Control of Cancer. For example, the scratching of a sharp tooth on the inside of the mouth, ill-fitting dental plates, eating too hot food, smoking hot pipes or too warm cigar smoke, allowing intestinal disorders to become chronic.

The danger signals are: any sore that will not heal, raised moles that are irritated, any lump, any irregular bleeding or discharge, persistent indigestion with loss of weight. After the age of thirty-five visit your doctor semi-annually anyway, for there are internal cancers which the untrained observer cannot detect.

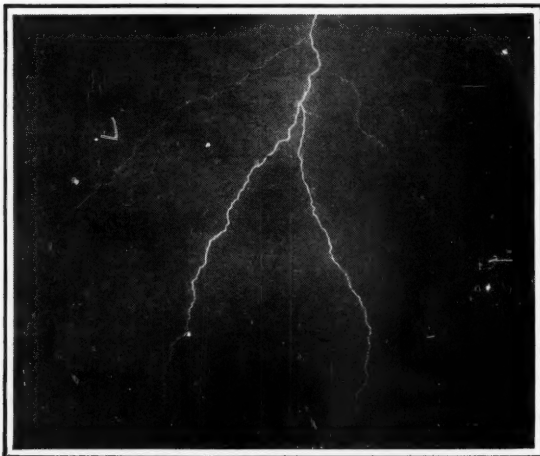
Dr. John Douglas, president of the New York County Medical Society, compares cancer to a fire:

"It starts locally, like a spark or a flame. If caught then it can be put out. If allowed to spread and smolder anywhere in the body, as a fire beneath the floors or behind the wainscoting, it can be overcome only after it has destroyed a great deal, or perhaps too late to save the building."

## How to Prevent Lightning

**F**AINT stirrings of leaves in the humid, leaden air of summer; dark clouds creeping up from the horizon; a rush of wind, a deluge of rain, and crackling flashes of electricity followed by terrifically noisy explosions—that is how we see lightning. We have seen it take its toll of human life, set fire to homes, barns, and churches, and we have regarded it as inevitable. The most we could do was provide lightning rods to lead the flashes safely to the ground.

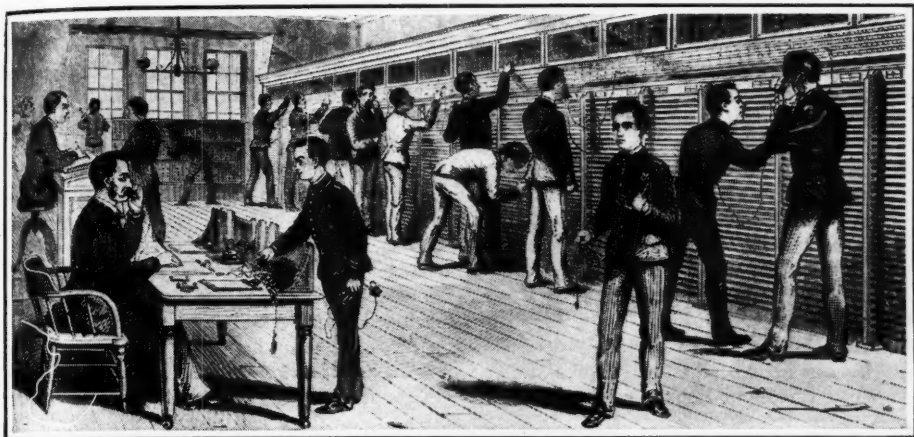
Recently there has been set up around some mammoth oil reservoirs in California a new apparatus whose business it is, not to attract lightning bolts and lead them to the ground, but to prevent them from getting started. This system is the invention of John M. Cage of Los Angeles, and it is described by Col. E. H. Wilcox of the Engineers' Reserve Corps, U. S. A., in the *Scientific American*.



Photograph from Ewing Galloway

A LIGHTNING BOLT





Photograph from the American Telephone and Telegraph Company

#### BOY OPERATORS IN A TELEPHONE EXCHANGE OF THE 'EIGHTIES

It is no magic which suddenly dumps an immense charge of electricity out of nowhere into the cloud, and then sends it crashing to the ground. The charge is built up by a definite process, which may take from fifty seconds to five minutes or more. By various means a cloud becomes charged with electricity, retaining enormous potential power in electrons. It sets up in the earth beneath a corresponding charge made up of opposite electrons.

At times this balance between the charges in cloud and earth is upset; and when the difference is so great that the resistance of the intervening atmosphere can be overcome, there is a rush of excess electrons down through the air to restore the balance. This is lightning.

What the new protective system undertakes is to prevent the charge in the cloud from getting so much greater than that on earth that it wants to unload itself with its customary crash. The apparatus aims to gather up the earth charges within the protected area, discharging them gently to the cloud.

It is to do this by applying known electric phenomena, and consists chiefly of wires strung around the oil reservoir or other area to be protected. From these wires excess electrons jump skyward—quietly—into any cloud with a tendency toward lightning bolts. This process automatically goes on until equilibrium is established.

Thus, says Colonel Wilcox, "equilibrium is maintained, and there is no possibility of a lightning flash."

#### Hello Girls

"HELLO girls" they used to be called back in the days of whalebone, starched sleeves and long skirts; then they became "Centrals" and now they have attained the polysyllabic dignity of "Operators."

There are more than 160,000 of these girls employed at the telephone switchboards of the United States. With lightning speed and accuracy they plug in the metal "jacks," flick levers, touch buttons, chorus "Number, please" and "One, thrree, ni-yun, fi-uv."

"To the casual observer, the work they do is sheer magic," writes Mildred Adams in the *Woman Citizen*. "The wonder is, not that they make mistakes, but that they make so few." These young women have, in fact, revolutionized the industry. Back in the 1880's, the telephone operators were boys. Under their ministrations, at least five ear-splitting minutes were necessary to get a call through, and during the interval the boys whistled and shouted, fought with the subscribers and played strange tricks which made the clumsy instruments emit lamentable shrieks and howls. By comparison, the young ladies who followed them were efficiency personified—and they were not given to profanity.

"It takes at least fourteen different operations to make a single inter-office call," Miss Adams tells us. The speed and accuracy, the intonations of voice, the pronunciation of words and numbers that make up the mechanics

of these operations are taught carefully to a picked group of girls. The first selection is done in the employment office. Here the girl with the Georgia drawl is refused a place on a New York exchange; the Bostonian does not qualify for work in Chicago; nor is a trace of foreign accent condoned. Tests of mental quickness and good muscular coördination, searching inquiries about health and home conditions must be survived before ever the applicant reaches the training school.

Here she learns the rising inflection on "Number, please" that we all know so well; here she is trained to have a "voice with a smile." She learns, above all, the million-and-one complicated manipulations of cords, lights and levers.

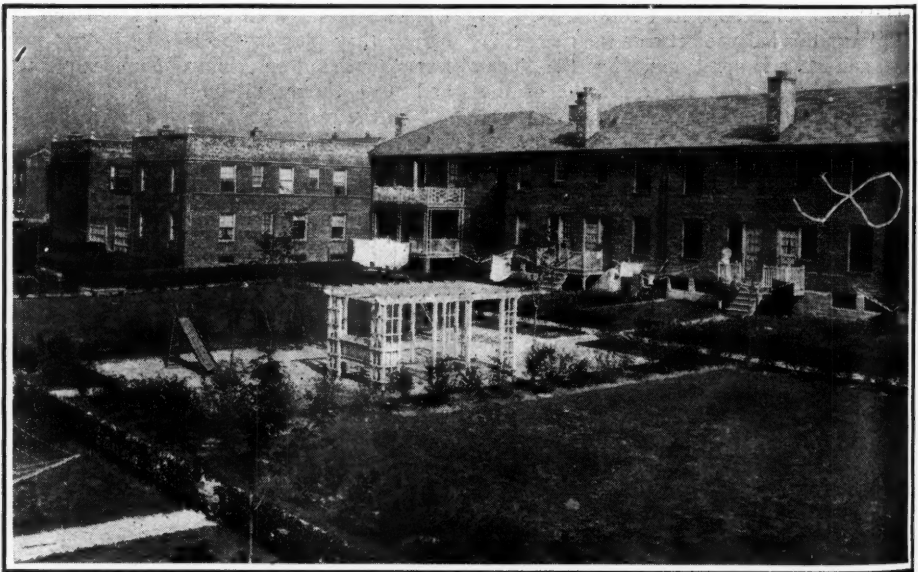
Working in large, light, quiet rooms, seated in chairs designed especially to provide proper support; with headpieces fastened over sleek young bobbed heads, the girls work in eight-hour shifts, with a rest period of fifteen minutes between every hectic two hours. At night, older women are almost universally employed. Lunch rooms, rest-rooms, lectures on health, careful personnel supervision to adjust the subtle woes that come from jarring temperaments, are a few of the provisions against muscle and nerve strain.

## Playgrounds

ON EVERY side we hear that business has entered upon an era of sweetness and light. Hard-headed millionaires—the type of men who, we are told, made their fortunes a generation or two ago by fleecing widows and orphans—now find that humanity is the best policy, and pays not only good consciences but dollars. No better sign of this commercial change of heart could be found than the recreation centers which are more and more frequently included in real-estate developments.

Already more than four hundred of these parks and playgrounds have been established in connection with real-estate projects. "And their innovation has proved not only public spirited, but a sound business proposition," declares M. Travis Wood in the *National Real Estate Journal*.

The neighborhood playground in congested areas attracts homeseekers and adds to the salability of the lots. Not only does it satisfy the need of parents to find healthful and safe places for their children to play, but the space devoted to trees, grass, and flowers which should always surround such a playground adds to the beauty of the development and so enhances the prices of all surrounding lots.



THE PLAYGROUND IN A MODEL COMMUNITY

Sunnyside Gardens on Long Island, built by the City Housing Corporation, showing play and garden space and apparatus for small children.

An investigation conducted by the Playground and Recreation Center of America found that from 10 to 25 per cent. of total areas had been devoted to the uses of recreation in recent real-estate developments.

Golf courses, beaches, and community gardens are special forms of play areas in suburban districts which have been found exceedingly profitable, even when, as in one Long Island development, the land devoted to the golf course, if divided into plots, would bring \$1,000,000.

The suggestion has been made that municipal rulings be passed so that at least 10 per cent. of all developments over ten acres in size should be reserved for playground purposes. A number of cities, and one state, Montana, have already passed regulations to this effect.

More, however, will be accomplished by "voluntary efforts on the part of real-estate companies to plan for recreation, and their growing appreciation of the business value of this procedure."

## The Future of Christianity

NOT merely speculating, but stating a sincere conviction based upon cause and effect, Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick, pastor of the Park Avenue Baptist Church in New York, and a liberal leader, examines the trend of modern religion. This is what, according to an article by him in the *New Age*, we may expect to happen:

Demands for the unity of the Church will increase, as the present sectarianism becomes more and more intolerable. Of course, the movement for unity will have its ups and downs, but it will succeed, not through large efforts from the top, by way of conventions and ecclesiastical agreements, but through single churches in local communities where all kinds of Christians will be welcomed, and where

present divisions will be found unimportant.

Then, the Protestant religion will become less complacent and comforting, and more disturbing and revolutionary, as the Christian conscience becomes more and more exercised about our economic and international paganism. "More people daily are seeing that religion is not exhausted in theology and ecclesiasticism," says Dr. Fosdick. "Leaders will stand out more emphatically against militarism, economic imperialism, narrow nationalism, dollar diplomacy, hard-hearted autocracy in business, racial prejudice, and kindred social heathenisms which . . . make the world at large pagan and restrict Christianity to a few individual decencies in private life."

Beauty will come back into the Church, and with it, added dignity. "There are multitudes of souls to whom the esthetic approach

to God is absolutely necessary if they are to find God at all."

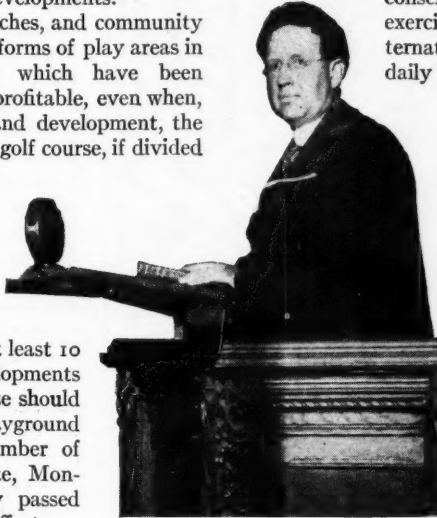
"The modernist-fundamentalist controversy has petered out," declares Dr. Fosdick. And Protestantism will enter shortly upon an era in which "both conservatives and liberals will recognize that, whatever may be the truth about theology, good-will is religion."

Although this sounds rather like the millennium, Dr. Fosdick thinks we will not have too long to wait for it.

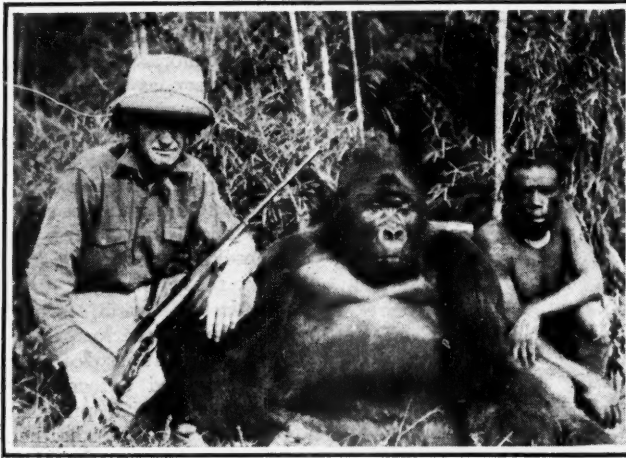
## A Square Deal for Genesis

EVERY State should adopt anti-evolution laws, because such laws are constitutional, because they satisfy a popular demand, because they are fair, restrict no scientific research, and form the only method of redress against an infidel philosophy.

Such is the platform of William Bell Riley, pastor of the First Baptist Church of Minneapolis, Minn., president of the Christian Fundamental Association, and chief protagonist of



© Keystone  
HARRY EMERSON FOSDICK



### THREE STAGES OF EVOLUTION?

Edmund Heller, big game hunter, and his prize, an African gorilla, 5 feet 8 inches tall, and weighing 350 pounds, which not even leopards dared attack, so powerful were its arms. With Mr. Heller is a native guide from the Congo.

the case against evolution, as stated by him in the *Independent*. Dr. Riley defends his position thus:

What right has the State to teach in its public schools a philosophy of life and religion held by only a small section of its citizenry? Atheists, Unitarians, rationalists and anarchists defend the evolutionary doctrine—"but their numbers, combined, are a bagatelle beside the great host of sound, sane, and even scholarly citizenry that count the teaching of this philosophy, at the expense of taxpayers, a moral, ethical, and educational outrage."

The great majority who call themselves Fundamentalists have seen the Bible forced out of the public schools, and school chapels closed or utterly denominationalized. "We are hot in rebellion about it," says this leading Fundamentalist, "for we do not believe in the union of Church and State; but when it is proposed to end the teaching of the creative theory of man's origin, confirmed by Scripture and science alike, and to adopt the evolutionary philosophy which finds confirmation in neither science nor Scripture, then we protest."

It is untrue to say that laws against teaching evolution in schools restrict the advancement of science, declares Dr. Riley. Scientists may go right on searching for facts to uphold their theories. But until they find them, let us not teach their theories to unsophisticated children.

"They claim it took at least ten millions of

years for a five-toed rat to evolve into a one-toed horse. Then why their haste? Possibly in ten millions of years from now they may have the historical proofs of evolution. But why impose upon the present generation such remote possibilities?"

This is no controversy between scientists and what scientists call organized ignorance, protests Dr. Riley. "There is not a man intelligently advocating an anti-evolution bill in any State in this Union who is not a friend of science and is not also in favor of research. Christianity is the mother of education, the patron and friend of true science, and there is never an instance in history

in which she has set herself in opposition."

But the Church to-day wants a square deal. And the way to get it is through legislation. The State must say to its teachers: "You shall not force the Christian philosophy out of our own schools, and, contrary to the will of parent and taxpayer alike, impose instead your infidel conception upon the minds of children who have not as yet reached their 'teens, not even upon the immaturity of boys and girls in high school and college."

### The Only Child

THE only child has always been the cause of much head-shaking. Dire prophecies are made about how he will turn out. But until recently the problem of how to mitigate his misfortune has not been important. The only child was rare, and relatively few parents had to worry about him. But now there are only children all over the country. It has become a burning matter to find out what kind of person the only child is likely to be, and why.

"It is a great disadvantage to be an only child," chorus educators and psychologists; "it can be a terrible misfortune." Brenda Ueland, in *Liberty*, quotes Dr. Ruth Andrus, head of the Institute of Child Welfare Research at Columbia University:

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may also be an oldest child, or a favorite child, or perhaps a youngest, most adored child. Anyway, the term describes a certain definite kind of person, and I can tell you what he is like."

Perhaps his parents have smothered him with too much attention, love, anxiety. He grows up without initiative, full of fears learned from his mother or nurse, expecting and needing sympathy and coddling. He is made to feel that he must return the emotional love that his parents shower upon him, and which is not natural to healthy children. He cannot get away from home as easily as the child of a large family. Frequently his life is spent in being "the only thing his mother has to live for."

Or perhaps his parents goad him, try to push him forward, to make him into what they want him to be. The result is that he develops into a contradictory, obstinate child. Yet all he is trying to do is to save his own personality. Frequently he turns out a disappointment to his parents because of his natural defense against their tampering. Frequently, if their will is stronger than his, an unhappy misfit results.

When we see children breaking their mothers' hearts—as people say, declares Dr. Andrus, "it really means that their mothers have tried first, but failed, to break their children's spirit."

"If you have an only child," concludes Miss Ueland, "remember that ideas of spoiling have been reversed. Once we were afraid that if a child was allowed to be free, happy, and independent of his parents, not advised and warned and interrupted and coddled and cautioned at every turn, then he was spoiled. Now it is scientifically known that if he is not allowed to be all these things, then he is spoiled indeed."

## Kotapalli's Black Cobra

IN THE good old days, when gay Moslems gleefully cut the throats of Hindu merchants to enrich their coffers, a wealthy Hindu journeyed to Kotapalli, an island off the coast of India. What he saw there pleased him so much that he brought his servants, built a house, and moved in with his family. In time a village grew up, over which he ruled, calling himself raja.

Things went well until, growing fat, lazy, and careless, the raja forgot to celebrate *Naga Panchami*, Snake Day—a day on which



From a drawing in *Liberty*

### KING ONLY CHILD

no plowing may be done for fear of hurting reptiles, and on which the good Hindu must carry little earthen vessels of milk and bananas to the holes known to be inhabited by snakes. The raja neglected these things, went for a walk in the garden, stumbled, and fell on the king of the black cobras. The furious reptile, insulted, bit the raja, and entered the house. Cries were heard, but no one ventured inside. The villagers fled in terror and never returned. In time the jungle grew over the raja's house. Kotapalli was deserted, and all men feared to go there. So runs the story.

Not long ago J. C. deWet, a young South African, went to Kotapalli to establish an agricultural experiment station for the government of India. When one evening he had finished lighting a cigarette, he threw the empty box away into the night.

"Sahib, I beseech you," said Chandra Dutt, his Indian assistant. "Do not do that again. What if you had hit a lurking cobra?"

"Hit a cobra? What of it?"

"Well, sahib, take this advice from an old

man," said Chandra Dutt. "It is said in these parts that a cobra once hit and not killed will surely return for vengeance. And is not this place cursed of old?"

That night Mr. deWet was tossing in his bed. Jackals prowled around the outskirts of the island, uttering melancholy sounds. Suddenly he was startled by a piercing yell. He jumped from bed, lit a lantern, and dashed out of his tent, there to collide with Ram, his servant. Ram was agitated, and pointed to his leg. Mr. deWet pulled him into the tent, and examined the leg while the victim literally foamed at the mouth with pain. The South African's heart went cold, for he saw two tiny inflamed pin pricks in the man's skin—the marks of a venomous snake.

Seconds were precious, so, reaching for his razor, he hacked at the wound, cauterized it with nitric acid, the only chemical at hand, and tied a bandage. With Venkana, another servant, he then went out to find the snake. Venkana carried a snake stick, a sturdy bamboo pole to the end of which was fastened a fork having about a dozen prongs of sharpened steel.

They had barely taken two steps into Ram's hut when something moved under a heavy Indian quilt lying in the corner. The men stopped, eyes glued to the corner. Not moving, they waited, tense. At last Venkana pointed to a place by the wall. From that spot there shot out a reptile, gliding toward them. Crash! Down came Venkana's weapon, and there, pinned to the ground, lay five feet of infuriated venom, hissing in a most blood-curdling manner. It was a jet-black cobra.

Ram, the victim, died, and of the incident Chandra Dutt said, "Sahib, this had to be. It was written in the stars. It is the cobra's vengeance."

This story, written by Mr. deWet into an article on his work on Kotapalli, appears in *Asia*. The cobra, says Mr. deWet, may now be seen any day in Madras Museum. It is a record-breaker in age and length; but it was only one out of thousands of snakes encountered as Mr. deWet continued with his work.

## The Decline of Paris

PARIS is no longer Paris to Diana Bourbon, an Englishwoman who sums up her feelings about the change in an article for the *London Sphere*. The Paris that the newer generation of travelers is learning to know, she writes, is no longer the city that Europe loved and courted for at least three hundred years.

"In the nine years since the Armistice, in the last twenty-two months of those nine years particularly, she has changed more in spirit than in any previous century of her history, even including the one that straddled the Revolution, the Empire, the Restoration, and the Republic—the very soul of the city is dead—or different."

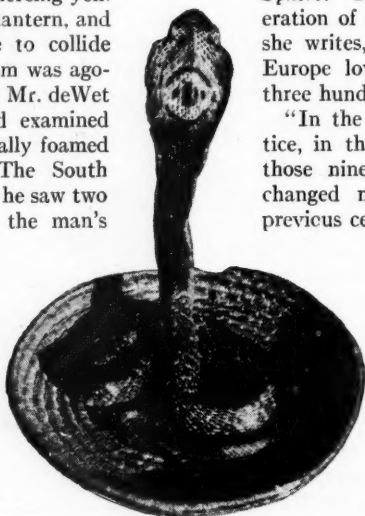
The sign of decay is that so much of the city is cheapened and garish:

"Paris is like an old beauty, fading at last. No longer able to pick and choose either courtiers or lovers—but clinging to the possession of courtiers and

lovers no less tenaciously for that. An old beauty—once not devoid of dignity—who has shingled herself to suit, not her own style, but what she pathetically imagines to be the demands of a shorn age and has gone out to dance the Charleston in the cruel, unbecoming hours of the morning. Even the French no longer look at her with the same pride and affection."

The French blame the foreigners, and partly foreigners are to blame; for, needing money, the city made every effort to attract them, with dire results.

Yet it was not the foreigner who has made Paris into a young Bedlam for noise and destroyed all possibility of the former joyous, peaceful stroll about her streets. It was not he who has decided that the city's real attraction must be the more questionable of her night-life aspects; who has allowed one famous resort and restaurant after another to go down hill until they live on their reputations; or who has made the once well-dressed Frenchwoman wear all the wrong clothes at the wrong time.



A DEATH'S HEAD COBRA

Photograph from Gordon MacVeagh, in *Asia*.

Even the Frenchman's never-failing hospitality to the foreigner is lacking, and that change "has somehow brought us nearer than anything else to the end of the chapter that was the old Paris. . . . Other cities and countries went to school there, once, to learn manners. They couldn't now."

## Fanatical Females

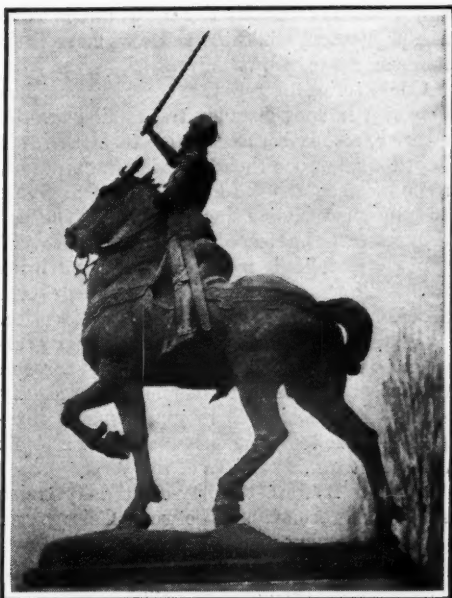
ANCIENT and modern history is strewn with fanatical females. Occasionally they have been bad, and when they were bad they were horrid. But for the most part they have been idealists whose devotion has raised earth a little nearer to heaven. Men who call them fools while they are alive recognize them as saints and heroines after they are dead. Such is the reward of fanaticism.

"Mankind would be buried under a deeper mass of sordid materialism than it is were it not for these women," claims the Rev. John Leonard Cole, writing in the *Homiletic Review*. From the widow with the two mites to Edith Cavell and her famous "Patriotism is not enough; I must have no hate or unforgiveness in my heart toward anyone" goes Mr. Cole, naming but a few of the famous women who have been fools for God's sake.

"When they give, these women give all. When they believe, they believe without mental reservations. When they love, they love with no lukewarm flame, but a burning and consuming passion. . . . It may be suffrage, it may be a warless world; it may be industry Christianized; whatever it be, they go in for it for all they are worth. . . . Close at hand they may seem disagreeable; in the perspective of years they are the honored ones. . . .

"Of course the unpardonable sin of these female fanatics, from Moses' mother, possessed of the crazy idea that her boy could be saved from the Egyptian massacre, down to Jane Addams with her absurd idea that every woman's boy can be saved from becoming cannon-fodder, is uncompromising idealism. That determination to hitch their wagon to a star, backed by sacrificial devotion and willingness to pay any price, can move heaven and earth. These women are moving the world up out of the fog into practical idealism."

Fanatical females we have always had, and always will have. Possibly the world could not get along without them.



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### JOAN OF ARC

A fanatical female who has been canonized by the Catholic Church. This statue by Anna Vaughn Hyatt is on Riverside Drive, New York City.

## Railroads at Bay

THE railroads—so far as one can generalize about them—are not so well off as they used to be. In 1920 the Interstate Commerce Commission set 5¾ per cent. as a fair return, but in the six years since then the roads have failed to earn that return by more than a billion dollars. Their average profit until 1926 was little more than 3 per cent., and there is small chance that it will be much more for 1927 or many years after.

A large decline in passenger patronage—so large that the Denver and Rio Grande Western, which in 1920 carried 987,959 passengers in Colorado, had but 459,627 in 1925—is at fault. There arises the question as to what the railroads can do, for do something they must; and it is this question which Charles Angoff, a member of the *American Mercury* staff, examines in the January issue of that magazine.

Most of the decline has come in the day-coach business, Mr. Angoff finds. One railroad president has said that because of competition from automobiles, 30,000 miles of track would soon have to be scrapped. The latest figures indi-

cate that the country's motor-bus line mileage is now 270,000, while the railroads have little more than 250,000.

One cheering factor is that there is a considerable rise in long-distance travel all over the country, and it is through this that the roads hope to make good their losses in local business, although they are still fighting for local traffic too, by themselves using bus lines. The nation is soon to be treated to a "Save to Travel" campaign, which is to inspire more Americans to travel further. But for the most part efforts are aimed at what is called the refining of service.

This refinement has developed into high-pressure competition to see which railroad can run the greatest number of most gorgeously equipped fast trains, thereby presumably offering the most tempting bait to travelers. This competition exists chiefly in the West.

Experts hold that thirty-eight daily trains run by five companies between Chicago and Omaha provide twice the service needed, and that if the necessary cut were made more than \$3,500,000 a year might be saved.

But the race to gild the lily of railroad luxury goes on. One company's dining-car service cost 79 cents for each meal before any food was set before the patron; and another road has lost \$1,000 daily on its dining-cars. Moreover, although a few fine trains like the Twentieth Century and Broadway Limited earn plenty of money, there are others not paying for the wages of their crews.

## Heralds of Prosperity

THAT we of the United States are enjoying a prosperity which will be bigger and better in the coming year seems to be the consensus, not only of government officials, but of private citizens and organizations.

President Coolidge reports to the members of Congress that the state of the Union in general is good, and that "if the people maintain that confidence which they are entitled to have in themselves, in each other, and in America, a comfortable prosperity will continue." Secretary Mellon finds that "while business is not as active as in most of 1926, it can hardly be said to be subnormal, and the underlying fundamentals appear to be sound." Mr. Hoover declares that "the high prosperity of the year did not represent merely an upward swing of the business cycle, but was the result of general and permanent progress."

In looking forward into 1928, the great stimulant for an active year in business is the coming to life again of Henry Ford. According to Mr. Charles E. Mitchell, President of the National City Bank, "with a sound credit situation, a return of Ford and other leading manufacturers to a normal output, a continuance of large scale building, and the substantial improvement that has occurred this year in agricultural conditions, we have powerful influences tending to swing business back into its stride and to put 1928 definitely in the list of years that have brought good times to the United States."

J. S. Bache and Company's *Review* also expresses the opinion that the cessation of Ford production was a prominent factor in the down-swing of industrial activity six months ago, since Ford production represented nearly one-half of the whole automobile industry.

From the business man's point of view, Mr. A. W. Shaw, editor of the *Magazine of Business*, calls our present state of well-being a profitless prosperity. He is optimistic, however, and feels that in 1928 an answer will be found. An answer made up of better business management, an underlying trend for the better, and



By Smith, in the New York American

A WARNING FROM THE PRESIDENT



finally in a reduction of the tax burden. He is well satisfied with the efforts of our Federal Government along the line of tax reduction, and it is toward the 750,000 tax-levying and tax-spending bodies of our State and local governments that he points a finger of warning.

## Keeping the Wolf from Millions of Doors

OUR prosperity is not all that it is painted—not by about 93,000,000 pocketbooks. Into these pocketbooks last year, the most prosperous year the country has ever known, went only 52.8 per cent. of the nation's income. This means that the two-thirds of our population who rank as the "poorest" class received last year \$460 a person and the 15 per cent. of our population in the lower middle class received all of \$510 a person. These figures were compiled by Prof. Irving Fisher of Yale.

Counting five persons to a family, this means an annual income of \$2,300 for four-fifths of the people in America. According to the Federal Bureau of Labor Statistics the budget which represents the minimum of health and decency for such a family in an average city is \$2,432.39. The National Industrial Conference Board pares it down still finer, and, by allowing nothing "for a vacation, for unemployment, for old age, for savings of any kind," tells the "poorest" class that they can live for \$1,880 a year and the office workers that they should manage on \$2,119.

If, then, you belong to one of these two classes, and you are a very good manager, you will have from \$181 to \$420 to squander on items not included in the "minimum of health and decency below which a family cannot go without danger of physical and moral deterioration." This in a year when our estimated national income attained the astounding total of \$90,000,000,000.

Refusing to be convinced by Professor Fisher's lugubrious picture, however, M'Cready



Photograph from Ewing Galloway

### HOW PROSPEROUS ARE THEY?

Although American union labor is admittedly better paid than any other labor in history, it is estimated that our present prosperity does not include two-thirds of the population, who last year received an income averaging only \$460 a person.

Sykes in *Commerce and Finance* points out one or two mitigating factors:

For one thing, Professor Fisher's figures include nearly all the farmers; and while the farmer's lot is not a happy one financially it does not mean that he is on the brink of poverty because his income in terms of money is small.

Then again, substantial savings were added to capital, and these were not confined to the remaining fifth of the population. Were things as bad as Professor Fisher says, it is hard to see where this money saved came from.

And finally, "all the mass psychology in the world could not infuse into persons thus situated the spirit, activity, and enterprise of our people during the past few years."

Still, admits Mr. Sykes, Professor Fisher's figures are bad enough, after all allowances are made, and his conclusions are sobering.



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# As Stated

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**CALVIN COOLIDGE:**  
*In his Annual Address to Congress*

In general our relations with other countries can be said to have improved within the year.

**LORD ROTHERMERE:**  
*British editor in the London Evening News*

Nine years after the "war to end war" Europe is sinking into an attitude of armed expectancy exactly similar to that of 1914.

**RUPERT HUGHES:**  
*In his Life of Washington*

It is the most tragic of farces that so many Americans should insist both that Washington could not tell a lie and that his chroniclers may not tell the truth.

**GILBERT MURRAY:**  
*Scholar and lecturer  
In the Yale Review*

The governments now ruling in most Western countries were formed under the fear of Bolshevism.

**ERNEST M. HOPKINS:**  
*President of Dartmouth  
In a Sermon*

Youth cannot make any greater mess of the world than their elders have made.

**REV. S. PARKES CADMAN:**  
*President of the Federal Council of Churches  
In an Address*

If some persons are jailed for talking peace in time of war, why should not others be jailed for talking war in time of peace?

**REV. PERCY T. FENN:**  
*In the North American Review*

The greater the clerical mountebank, the larger the congregation. . . . The parish, in many instances, has degenerated into a club, and what the people want is not a spiritually minded leader, but a real, live Manager.

**J. B. PRIESTLEY:**  
*British author and critic  
In the London Daily Telegraph*

A dramatist is a clever fellow, but no longer a serious man of letters.

**HERBERT WALLACE SCHNEIDER:**  
*In the Century*

The Fascisti have discovered the fun of what is known as the college spirit. Fascismo is a sort of Roman letter fraternity.

**AN EDITORIAL:**  
*In America, a Catholic weekly*

Americans have no National Church, but they have a national religion, and it is education.

**ELLIS PARKER:**  
*International Police Detective  
In the New Age*

I don't believe there is a person living but what, if he had witnessed some of the crimes I have, would champion capital punishment.

**CATHERINE MITCHELL TALIAFERRO:**  
*In the North American Review*

It has been said, dogs would sleep themselves to death were it not that fleas bite them. So it would seem that voters need to be incited . . . to take active part in politics.

**AN EDITORIAL:**  
*In the Manchester Guardian Weekly*

The reported decision of Italian authorities that there must be no tombstones in Tyrol engraved with the German language almost suggests an attempt to count heaven itself as an Italian protectorate.

**WILLIAM McANDREW:**  
*Superintendent of Schools, Chicago*  
*In the Journal of Education*

The school life of children is too short to let me waste it by my use of my teacher's position as a fighting ground or as a mattress.

**NEW YORK TIMES BOOK  
 REVIEW:**  
*On Hibben's "Henry Ward Beecher"*

The orator must be forgiven much. . . . He that delivers his message by word of mouth is made aware of his power and the temptation to increase that power is overwhelming.

**REP. MARTIN B. MADDEN:**  
*Chairman of the Committee on  
 Appropriations*  
*In the Magazine of Wall Street*

There still is room for improvement, but it is worth noting that in several respects the Government is now run with better regard for sound practice than are many big private corporations.

**AN EDITORIAL:**  
*In the Commercial and Financial  
 Chronicle*

In certain of the country's key industries there is actually severe trade depression. What is worse, it at present threatens to develop into trade prostration of the worst kind.

**FRANK SWINNERTON:**  
*English novelist*  
*In the Saturday Review of Literature*

While robust young Englishmen were away fighting the world's battles in the Great War, literature fell into the hands of the theorists. . . . The result has been the sterilization of art and literature.

**J. M. MONCADA:**  
*Leader of the Nicaraguan Liberal Army*  
*In the Outlook*

We Liberals want the United States Marines in Nicaragua. . . . Sacasa or any other statesman will always need the help of the United States to establish a good Government.

**KENGI HAMADA:**  
*Japanese writer*  
*In the North American Review*

The civilization of Japan is based primarily upon the acquisition of wisdom, and that of America on the acquisition of information.

**WILLIAM E. ARTHUR:**  
*Airport-designer*  
*In an address to the Society of Auto-  
 motive Engineers*

The future city without an airport will be in the class with a coastal city without a harbor.

**SIMEON D. FESS:**  
*Senator from Ohio*  
*In the Christian Herald*

An expression of a choice not to become a candidate has never before been considered as a refusal to accept a nomination when tendered without solicitation.

**ROY L. GARIS:**  
*Professor of Economics*  
*In Scribner's*

Under no consideration should the advocates of immigration restriction permit the repeal or weakening of the numerical restrictions in the present law.

**HENRY R. CAREY:**  
*In Harpers*

For more than a generation American wives have been disrupting the family.

**MERLE THORPE:**  
*In Nation's Business*

The business man to-day has to run like the devil to stay where he is.

**HARRY ELMER BARNES**  
*Professor of Sociology*

Instead of the present unintelligent lay jury we should have a permanent paid body of experts whose sole business it would be to deal with accused criminals.

**GEORGE DRAPER:**  
*Professor of Clinical Medicine*  
*In Scribner's*

Not long ago in a certain illustrated journal were displayed the photographs of five renowned dictators. One could not fail to perceive at a glance that fear was the dominant emotion which shone from the eyes of those men.

# New Books at New Year's

THE turn of the year finds the publishing world in the midst of a prosperous season, with many important new books already on the market and the titles of others announced for early printing.

One of the interesting December developments was the publication by Macmillan of four volumes in the series to be known as a "History of American Life," edited by Arthur M. Schlesinger and Dixon Ryan Fox. These volumes (not chronologically the first four in the series) give an earnest of publishers, editors and authors to make the work what its title promises—an account of the really vital things in our national history. Those now published are: "The First Americans: 1607-1690," by Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker; "Provincial Society: 1690-1763," by James Truslow Adams; "The Rise of the Common Man: 1830-1850," by Carl Russell Fish; "The Emergence of Modern America: 1865-1878," by Allan Nevins. In this connection we should not overlook another new book in the same field—Prof. David S. Muzzey's "The American Adventure" (Harper). "The Story of the American Indian" is told in a new way, and at the same time authoritatively, by Paul Radin (Boni and Liveright).

One of the ambitious efforts in current book-making is "The Winged Horse," relating the history of the world's poets and poetry, by Joseph Auslander and Frank E. Hill (Doubleday, Page and Co.). "The Oxford Book of American Verse" (Oxford University Press: American Branch) is the latest publication in its field.

Walter Edwin Peck's "Shelley" (Houghton Mifflin) is one of those books that the reviewer instinctively labels "monumental," and no other word seems to apply. It is unsafe to ascribe finality to any biography; but it is hardly possible that this generation or the next will know any important addition to the findings of this biographer of the English poet. The long-awaited life of Sir Arthur Sullivan, the composer, by Herbert Sullivan and Newman Flower (Doran), gives a like impression.

Arthur H. Quinn's "History of the American Drama" (Harper) covers the period from the Civil War to the present time. "Clowning Through Life," by Eddie Foy (Dutton), is another contribution to the recent history of the American stage. Paul Bekker's "The Story of Music" (W. W. Norton) is remarkable among books in English covering this topic.

Historical works, always seemingly in demand, figure largely in the current output and are in danger of claiming more than their due share of the reviewer's attention. To those already mentioned we should, however, add Herbert H. Gowen's "Outline History of Japan" (Appleton) and "A Short History of the Irish People," by Mary Hayden and George A. Moonan (Longmans, Green and Company). The new and less expurgated version of the famous "Greville Diary," edited by P. W. Wilson (Doubleday), and Lord Birkenhead's "Law, Life, and Letters" (Doran) are contributions to English history, as well as to the gaiety of nations. "The Memoirs of Queen Hortense" (Cosmopolitan Book Corporation) should also be noted.

You are already asking about the novels of the new year. Here are a few titles: "The Beginners," by Henry Kitchell Webster (Bobbs-Merrill); "Whatever We Do," by Allan Updegraff (John Day); "Forlorn River," by Zane Grey (Harper); "Lost Ecstasy," by Mary Roberts Rinehart (Doran); "The Aristocratic Miss Brewster," by Joseph C. Lincoln (Appleton); "Splendid," by Ben Ames Williams (Dutton), and two first novels by authors who have won distinction in other literary fields—Irvin S. Cobb's "Chivalry Peak" (Cosmopolitan Book Corporation) and Max Eastman's "Venture" (A. and C. Boni).

To the list of prize novels, already somewhat extended, is now to be added "The Father," by Katharine Holland Brown (John Day). This book has won the \$25,000 prize offered by the *Woman's Home Companion* and the John Day Company, for the best novel submitted by a woman. It was one of 973 manuscripts submitted by women contestants.

For notices of current books see pages 4, 6, 8, 10, and 11 of the Advertising Section.

